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# HISTORY OF MANCHESTER to 1852

*By*

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*Late History Master*

*William Hulme's Grammar School*

ALTRINCHAM

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*To the memory of*  
HERBERT BETHELL

*without whose wide knowledge  
and ready help this book could  
not have been written*





## PREFACE

THIS volume is confined exclusively to the Old Township of Manchester, the outlying districts and Salford being ruthlessly excluded. Until the inception of the City, it is possible to arrange events, on the whole, in chronological order. It is hoped that some other hand may write the succeeding volume; "The City of Manchester"; with an outline history of the incorporated districts and, to this end, material is being gathered and arranged.

My niece, Miss V. Keable, has rendered considerable help in checking the facts and has compiled the index.



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## *1. Before the Romans*

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IT is unlikely that Palaeolithic, or Old Stone Age, men came to Manchester for the northern part of Britain was covered with ice during the Glacial Period. After the retreat of the ice, the climate became favourable for the growth of great forest trees, many of them being oaks. A general subsidence of the land followed and Britain became separated from the Continent.

Some 7,000 to 10,000 years ago, when improved climatic conditions made habitation possible, Neolithic or New Stone Age men wandered over the district. They had the long head, projecting eyebrows, high cheekbones, strong coarse limbs, leaden aspect, slow motions and dark skins of the Basque race. Experts in making traps and snares, they lived on the game of the district. At this time, the land was covered with dense forest composed mainly of oak, ash, yew and firs, with an undergrowth of hazels. Willows and alders marked the course of the sluggish streams which wandered through this desolate region at the foot of the bleak moors. Picton says: "The Mersey is not mentioned by the Roman geographers and it has no Celtic name. . . . It has been inferred that the Mersey formed a fresh water lake, extending from Runcorn gap to Seacombe, fed by the waters of the Irwell and Weaver." This lake is said to have had an outlet to the Dee.

It has been asserted, but without any real evidence, that there were Neolithic settlements in the red sandstone caves of the Irk and Irwell. Dr. J. W. Jackson, late of the Manchester Museum, does not accept this theory. The presence of these men of the Neolithic Age is based principally upon the discovery of isolated implements. Many others must have been found but, being unrecognized, were destroyed. In all probability, in Manchester and neighbourhood, the use of perforated stone axe-hammers extended well into the Bronze Age.

Only one prehistoric weapon appears to have been found in the Township itself and that was in Corporation Street in 1870.

It is illustrated in the V.C.H. *Lancashire* and is of smooth glacial rock. It measures  $5'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$ , with a thickness of  $1\frac{1}{2}''$ . One was found in Harpurhey but most were found on the south side of the town. The latest find, in my own garden, was described in the *Manchester Guardian* of June 1, 1937, as: "A stone hammer thought to be more than 3,000 years old. It is a sandstone celt, an oval pebble about 3" wide and 4" long. It was chipped from each side to make an 'hour-glass' perforation through which a wooden shaft would be thrust."



STONE AGE HAMMER

Whether the Ancient Britons had a settlement in Manchester is still non-proven but, if they did, it is generally agreed that this was on the Chetham-Cathedral site. Celtic names lend considerable support in favour of a village at this Irwell-Irk junction and even the earliest name of the town may be of Celtic origin. Professor Boyd Dawkins asserted that this was derived from "Maen", the Brythonic name for "Rock", and more particularly applied to the red sandstone crag on which the cathedral now stands. From the Salford side of the river,

the cliff would, in early times, have somewhat the appearance of Alderley Edge. Add to this the following suggestion by Gradwell and one gets a credible solution of the ancient name.

The scattered dwellings on the rock were called "wicken", and thus the place would be known to the Romans as "Man Wicken" or the "Rock Village." Abbreviation setting in, as usual in all languages, the natives would call the place Manicken or Manchen. The Romans could not pronounce such a name as Man-chen but might well add -ium and the name became Man-ken-ium or Mancunium. Manwicken was the name which the simple Britons might well give to the cluster of dwellings on the flat rock at the junction of the two rivers.

He points out that "wick", a dwelling, was common to Celtic as well as to Saxon and Danish languages.

Hooppell says that the names Manucunium, meaning "Rock Top" and Mancunium, "High Rock", are both Celtic, and suggests that the name Mamucium may belong to Stockport. Phene compares the origin of the name of Manchester from the Celtic "Maen" with Coniston Old Man, a corruption of "Maen", a landmark, and Isle of Man from the raised mound from which that island takes its name.

Harland has shown that Whitaker's assertion that the ancient name of the town was "Mancenion" had no greater antiquity than Baxter's learned but fanciful work, written in the eighteenth century and adds:

The Britons have written the indelible evidence of their ancient possession of the district in the names of its rivers and streams. Irwell from "Ir", fresh or vigorous, and "Gwili", a winding stream; Irk from "Iwrch", the roebuck, from its bounding rapidly down a hill course; Medlock from "Med", full, and "llwch" (Gaelic, loch), lake or pool.

An ancient pathway, in line with modern Deansgate, led down to the original ford across the Irwell. In early times the "Hangan", or Hollow Ditch formed an impassable barrier northwards at this point. A few yards to the south of the ample stream which then poured down the Ditch, the ford led over to what is now Salford. As the Manchester side was so much higher, a steep slope, later named Smithy Bank, led down to the level of the river. In later days, steps were cut and the Court Leet Records frequently refer to these steps being in disrepair and impose a levy to put them in order, while the

Constables' Accounts enter various amounts paid for cleaning these same steps. Aston says: "By observation of carriage ruts in the rock, traces of the road have been discovered by workmen digging for foundations on the Manchester margin of the river." How long the ford was used as a link between the two towns we do not know. The Romans availed themselves of it in their time, for Roman coins were found on the Manchester side in 1828, dating from A.D. 306 to 340. At this time the ford was without a name unless it was the "ford by the rock." Its later name Salford may be from the Latin "Salix", a willow, and may date from Roman times, or more probably from the Anglo-Saxon form with the same meaning. It needs to be remembered that the rivers were much wider and shallower than they are today and that the Irwell fords were submerged when, in later times, the river was made navigable.

Because, in later years, Salford's two main roads did not meet at the end of the bridge when built, Crofton maintained that the original ford zigzagged by Stanihurst to this junction. He marked the line of this suggested ford on a portion of Green's map and quoted, in support, a decision at Lancaster Assizes in 1778 whereby John Taylor was ordered "to make or leave a carriage road over the Stanneries, through the little arch of Salford Bridge" (i.e., the one on that side of the river). Then Crofton turned the ford back under the line of the larger arch (i.e., on the Manchester side), to the end of Hanging Ditch, which he says the inhabitants went down as a washway. But the lower end of Hanging Ditch was several feet higher than that of the main stream into which the waters of the former cascaded down a cleft in the steep red sandstone rocks. It needs to be recalled that in early days all surface water had to reach the main river and that the ample stream down Hanging Ditch was fed by the rainfall on the high ground of Shudehill as well as by a stream down the line of Market Street and across the Market Place as well as another from the direction of the later Deansgate. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to suppose that the road over the Stanneries led to the end of the ford and directly across the river to the slope at the foot of Smithy Bank where the steps were in later days. Moreover an approach by the ford to the edge of the rock plateau or up the Hanging Ditch, would destroy the impregnability of that natural position.

The most powerful factor in deciding where early tribes



should settle was height above the level of the permanent excessive surface water and the Irwell-Irk confluence would be ideal for this purpose. If one accepts the suggestion that the Brythons settled here, then this site would probably be dotted with neat wattled cots thatched with straw or bracken, inhabited by a tall light-haired blue-eyed people using tools of stone and bronze. They kept cattle and pigs, bred horses and had fine mastiffs for hunting. They also tilled the ground and grew grain. It may be that coracles of wicker and leather floated on the Irwell and Irk, supplying their owners with fish. Whether these people were Brigantes who had crossed the mountain ridge or tribes surged up from the south-west it is impossible to say, but they had chosen a well defended site with deep streams on three sides and only the west without natural protection.

Picton says: "When the Romans first penetrated into the district, the N. Bank (of the Mersey) was occupied by the Brigantes and the S. by the Cornavii, two of the most powerful Celtic tribes." Whitaker names Castlefield as the site occupied by the Ancient Britons and gives a highly imaginative but unreliable description of the place and the people of those times.



## 2. Roman Manchester

80-426

---

**J**ULIUS AGRICOLA had gained considerable experience of warfare in Britain before he was appointed Governor by the Emperor Vespasian in the late summer of A.D. 79. As a young man he had served under Suetonius Paulinus during his advance to Anglesey and also taken part in the suppression of Boadicea's revolt in East Anglia.

Under Cerealis, he had commanded a legion in the war against the Brigantes which led to the IXth legion being established at York. After a short period as governor of Aquitania, Agricola returned to Britain. By A.D. 79 he was firmly established at Deva (Chester), with the II<sup>nd</sup> and XX<sup>th</sup> legions.

Next year, A.D. 80, Agricola began the advance which brought him to Manchester. Tacitus, in the *Agricola*, says he was advancing against "New peoples", so we may dismiss the conjectures that either Paulinus or Cerealis had preceded him. Suetonius Paulinus might have been in a position to advance further northwards in A.D. 58 after his slaughter of the Druids in Anglesey, had he not been hastily recalled by the rising of Boadicea in the east. Although Cerealis struck terror into the Brigantes and occupied Eboracum (York), the Silures were unsubdued and the Ordovices in arms, and these could have cut him off from his base of operations and exposed his forces to unwarrantable dangers.

For his first marches Agricola used the existing trackways, the great military roads connecting the forts being the work of a later time of peace. Advancing from Condate (near Northwich), the Romans forded the Mersey at the "Street Ford" (Stretford), and crossed the Medlock near Knott Mill. Here on rising ground in the bend of the last named river, just before it joined the Irwell, Agricola built an earth and timber castellum—the first Manchester fort. This would be the first solid ground

with a defensible position that they found after crossing the Mersey and, if scouts had brought them news of a stronghold of Ancient Britons, on the Irwell-Irk site, this would be all the more reason for securing this position before further advance. For its solid construction he was doubtless indebted to his immediate predecessor, Frontinus, who was a trained engineer. Tacitus says of Agricola's castella that so skilfully were they placed and so well provisioned that none was either stormed by the enemy or abandoned by capitulation or flight. A statue of Agricola is still to be seen over the central gable of the main doorway to the Town Hall, in Albert Square.

On campaign the Roman army was housed in tents of leather which were rolled round their long axis, with the two ends tucked in, when packed for transport. The tents of the legionaries were of the familiar bivouac pattern, their floors strewn with straw or bracken, on which soldiers slept. The square tent of the centurion was pitched in front with eight tents for the legionaries in a row behind it. The space at the side was used for piling arms and beyond this were the baggage carts and animals. Largest and most prominent, in the centre of the camp, was the commander's tent, also of leather.

As well as pitching their tents and erecting their defences, one important essential was the securing of a safe water supply. Probably the original well was that discovered in 1820 which was described in the *Manchester Exchange*, a paper published on October 7.

In cutting and carrying away a part of Castlefield, a very ancient well was discovered, about four yards below the level of the field. The wall was square and formed by four upright posts driven at four right angles into the bed of clay and closed in by other blocks of wood placed one upon the other in the simplest manner on the outside so as to form a kind of chest which was floored with the same rude materials. The logs were rudely hewn, they had evidently never been sawn either on the sides or ends, they were five or six inches square and together formed a hollow cube of four feet. The upper logs were level with the top surface of a bed of clay by which the well was surrounded and into which the timber had been inserted.

W. T. Watkin reached this same conclusion in 1880, though Harland had suggested earlier this was an ancient British well, following Whitaker's contention that Castlefield was the site of an ancient British village. But no trace of any anterior occupa-



FIRST MURAL PAINTING

Romans building the stone fort at Manchester, about A.D. 120

tion by the Celts came to light during the extensive excavations on or near the site. Without any evidence whatever, Hampson in later times has asserted that there was an ancient British village on the Adelphi and that the Romans chose Castlefield in order to overawe this and the Celtic village of Manchester.

Roeder sought to show that the original Roman fort was on the Chetham-Cathedral site, at the confluence of the Irk and Irwell and that it was afterwards moved to the more extensive station at Castlefield; but generally his contention is regarded as non-proven. The road from the Roman fort towards the ford and on to Ribchester was somewhat nearer the river than the line of the modern Deansgate. Manchester owed its importance to being the greatest centre of Roman roads in the district. From this station no less than six, and possibly seven, roads issued, and two of them threw off branches at short distances away.

The first mural painting, by Ford Madox Brown, in the Great Hall of the Town Hall, enshrines an anachronism, as it depicts Agricola building a stone fort at Manchester in A.D. 80. Whitaker's assertion, copied by later writers, that a stone fort was erected by Agricola is entirely conjecture. Collingwood says:

Up to the reign of Trajan (98–117) all Roman military buildings had been of timber with earth or turf ramparts. But at least by Domitian's reign, earthen forts were being replaced in Germany by stone; and in Trajan's time the fashion spread to Britain. It was now that the legionary fortresses at Caerleon and York, and probably Chester too, received stone revetted ramparts and stone internal buildings. . . . Many auxiliary forts were treated in the same manner.

Now, if the legionary fortress of Chester only received stone revetment in the reign of Trajan, it is certain that the auxiliary castellum at Manchester was not stone built before that time. Confirmation of this was discovered in 1955.

Excavations on Beaufort Street, in the Castlefield area, revealed not only substantial foundations of the gateway towers but also remains of the earlier wooden fort. This wooden fort is believed to have been built about A.D. 80 by Agricola. Later, in the middle of the Second Century, this was replaced by the stone fort which remained in use till the end of the Roman occupation.

A rarely observed inscription on the first mural is that of



"Leg: VI", painted on a sack of cement. The sixth legion did not arrive in Britain until A.D. 120 when it landed at the mouth of the Tyne with the Emperor Hadrian. That at least a part of this legion came to Manchester is evident by the altar dedicated to "Fortune the Preserver" by one of its centurions. The stone, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ " long, 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad, and nearly 11" thick, was found, lettered side downwards, in the Medlock in 1612. John Byrom copied the inscription in 1725. This altar was in the garden of Hulme Hall until 1770 but, after several removals, was presented to the Ashmolean Museum in 1875. There is a reproduction in the annexe to the Art Gallery.



XX LEGION TILE

That the XXth legion had a share in building the Manchester stone fort we know from the fragment of tile, now in the Art Gallery, which is reproduced here.

The Frisian Cohort was in Britain in A.D. 105, during the reign of Trajan. Probably it was sent to Manchester to replace the XXth legion in the task of building the stone fort; and that later the VIth legion was sent to speed up the work. Three inscriptions by the Frisian Cohort, giving the number of feet

that they built, were found on the Castlefield site. The first stated: "The century of Massavo of the First Cohort of the Frisiavones, built 23 feet." This is the first Manchester man whose name has been preserved by history. The second inscription found in 1760, stated: "The century of Varus, of the First Cohort of the Frisavones built . . . feet." The third found in 1796, stated: "The century of Quintianus of the First Cohort of the Frisiavones, built 24 feet." None of these centurial stones has survived but their appearance may be gathered from that at Melandra, reproduced below, which the Frisian Cohort also helped to build.



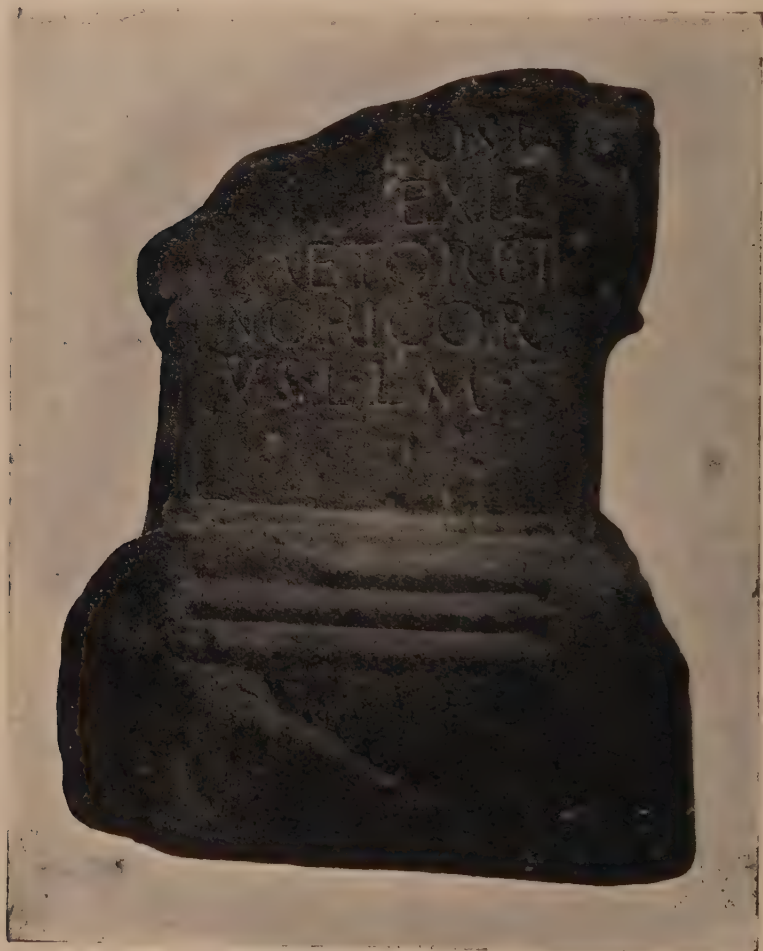
MELANDRA STONE

The district from which this cohort was enrolled included not only modern Holland but also west Germany to the mouth of the Ems. After years of resistance, the Frisians consented to live in peace and alliance with the Romans. They agreed to pay tribute and to furnish levies of foot soldiers for the Roman army. Remembering the wide expanses of water, the broad rivers and the marshy conditions of their homeland, it will be seen that this cohort was eminently suitable for establishing a



fort at Manchester. Dr. Black asserts that many of the place-names and proper names of South Lancashire are derived from these Frieslanders and even maintains that the "Bodily energy, mental activity, industrious enterprise and manual dexterity" of the later inhabitants of the district are derived from them.

The only altar which indicates the presence of a contingent of the Raeti and Noricor, from the district between the eastern Alps and the upper waters of the Danube, was found at Castlefield in 1831 and is now in the Art Gallery. The name of the god or goddess to whom the altar was dedicated and the name of the dedicator are broken off. Its date is 162-169.



NORICOR ALTAR



REMAINS OF EASTERN RAMPART OF ROMAN FORT

Another cohort which left a record of its presence was one from Braga in Spain. It was in Britain between A.D. 103 and 146. Two tiles, bearing their mark, discovered early in the nineteenth century, are missing.

All that remains of Roman Manchester is a portion of the eastern rampart under the railway arch, numbered 95. It is in the timber yard of Southern and Darwent. The easiest way to it from Deansgate is down Liverpool Road on the left to Collier Street, opposite the Exhibition Hall; turn left along Collier Street and across Bridgewater Street to the gates.

An account of the pottery, coins, and other Roman antiquities is given by various writers in *The Roman Fort of Manchester*, edited by Bruton.

The Samian bowl discovered in 1906 on the site of the Roman fort, is now in the Art Gallery. Below a border of



SAMIAN BOWL

tongue and tassel ornament is an undulating vine tendril, from which spring curved stems bearing single leaves alternately upright and pendant between each undulation. On either side of the upright leaf are birds, while on either side of the base of the undulations are placed rings. The whole design consists of ten leaves, ten birds and ten rings. The bowl, a finely finished product, red in colour and highly glazed, was probably imported in the second century.

Several hoards of coins were found on or near the Castlefield site and of these Professor Conway gives a detailed account.

The work of reclaiming the wilderness began in the days of the Romans, who felled the trees, tilled the cleared ground, embanked the rivers and threw causeways across the marshes. A graphic picture of these labours is presented by Tacitus in the impassioned words which he puts into the mouth of the Caledonian chief, Galgacus.

An entirely new method of living was introduced by the Romans. In order to avoid the undrained lowlands and forests, the Britons had kept to the hilltops and their adjacent slopes for their farming. But the Romans saw that the fertile soil of the valleys would be more productive when properly drained. Auxiliary troops gathered round themselves a little town inhabited by the men's families, tradesfolk and hangers-on, all of whom were excluded from the sacred precincts of the fort. These suburbs extended north as far as the present Quay Street and Windmill Street, east to the river Tib, and south towards Hulme.

The Manchester stone fort was 175 yards long by 140 yards broad, thus covering an area of rather more than 5 acres, with accommodation for about 1,000 troops. Of the interior of the fort we have no actual trace but such forts were of so uniform a plan that reconstruction is simple. Excavations in 1951 showed "the north face of the rampart about 2 to 3 feet further to the north than the conjectural line laid down by Swarbrick on his plan. Such a modest degree of displacement testifies to the accuracy of the observations of Roeder and Phelps" (Petch).

When the Goths invaded Italy in 402, Stilicho denuded Britain of the single legion which defended it. This was none other than the XXth and with it would go the auxiliary cohort, leaving Manchester exposed to attack by the Picts and Scots and later the Angles.



Romano-Britons were distressed to see the garrison leave. By contributing to the refinement of the natives and raising their standard of living, as well as by successfully preventing the raids of the Picts and Scots, the Roman soldiers became regarded more as friendly protectors than invaders.



### ROMAN FORT

Plan (prepared by Mr. John Swarbrick) shewing the outline of the Roman Fort at Manchester laid upon a map of the modern city. (Note how the modern streets run parallel to the ramparts of the fort.)

### 3. *Before the Norman Conquest*

430-1066

---

THE period between the departure of the Romans and the Norman Conquest is the most obscure in the history of the town. Nor is the obscurity lightened by the elaborate account of Anglian Manchester given by Whitaker, whose *History* has been described as "an amusing speculative romance". For, as Saintsbury said, "the author combined great actual learning and untiring antiquarian enthusiasm with his faculty for spinning cobwebs".

Had there been a Saxon thegn on the Chetham site, surely the fact would have been recorded in Domesday Book. But, as Roeder says, "there is no evidence that there ever was any thegn existing in the Manor of Manchester in very early times". The word Saxon is frequently used where "Anglian" would be more correct. Only twice did the Saxons visit Manchester; once under Ina, king of Wessex, and then for the rebuilding of the "burh" by Edward the Elder.

There is no apparent reason for doubting that, when the Angles first crossed the Pennines or penetrated upwards from Mercia, they found here a population of Romanized Britons. Good reasons could be found for believing that these were only partly subdued or displaced by the Angles and continued until exterminated by the Northmen from the west.

After the departure of the Romans, Aston says:

It became requisite that the Britons should elect a chieftain from among their own nation, to direct their councils and lead them against their enemies. Their military positions were strengthened and, as the Roman model of a fortress did not suit the military taste of the provincials, instead of one encircled with walls only seven or eight feet high, and furnished with mere pavilions for soldiers within, they preferred erecting on the sites large buildings of stone whose walls should constitute a barrier against assault and whose chambers should contain more con-



venient barracks for the garrison. An infinite number of these castles existed within a century of the Roman departure, and our celebrated field near Manchester boasted one of considerable strength which received the name Mancastle.

It is a pity that Aston did not produce some reliable evidence for his contention.

The mythic story of King Arthur and his Knights, which possibly has some foundation in fact, belongs to this period. It is suggested that the story of Sir Tarquin, the ferocious giant who lived in the Castle of Manchester, until he was slain by Sir Lancelot du Lac, one of the "Knights of the Round Table", is but a poetical account of the seizure of the Romano-British station by one of the Anglian chiefs and his cruelties towards the town and neighbourhood.

When, in 613, Ethelfrith of Northumbria defeated the Britons at Chester and separated those of Wales from their kinsmen in Cumbria, it is possible that he destroyed Manchester on his way to the battle, but there is no record of this. On the other hand Aston says:

Manchester remained unsubdued until the reign of Edwin, when Mancastle, though retained as a defence for the town, lost somewhat of its consequence. For 180 years Manchester continued under the rule of Northumbria. . . . Erected merely to defend the south of Lancashire from the inroads of its provincial enemies, after the Conquest, the castle would become entirely useless.

Baines in his *Lancashire* Vol. II, p. 167, states: "In A.D. 620, Edwin, King of Northumbria, crossing the ridge of mountains which form the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire, entered the parish of Manchester and permanently reduced the town under the dominion of the Saxons." (This should be Angles.) Harland's comment is: "For this statement the authority quoted is 'Nennius' p. 117. But the pages of this chronicler have been searched in vain; nor can any such statement be found in Bede, who most largely chronicles the events in the life of this king. No such fact appears in the Saxon Chronicle, and we can only give the statement as we find it, without attaching any importance to it."

The second mural painting in the Town Hall depicts the Baptism of Edwin and this is often assumed to be the beginning of Christianity in this area. But the story is based on the

solitary conjecture of Whitaker, who elaborated it to include the baptism of a "Saxon" thane of Manchester at the same time as the king. According to Clements Markham, when Ethelric of Bernicia overran Deira, Edwin was taken to Gwynedd (N. Wales). After his accession to Northumbria, Edwin rejected Paulinus and was baptized by Rhunn, the son of the Celtic priest who had sheltered him during his boyhood.

As the Latin mission under Paulinus was to king and court only, it is more than doubtful that his influence could have extended to this remote area, particularly as, when Edwin was slain six years later, Paulinus fled to Kent and Northumbria relapsed to heathenism. It is also said, without any evidence, that St. Michael's church, near the Roman fort, was built at this time.

"It is interesting to note that in the seventh century Edwin of Northumbria, finding that the order and security of his western shores were imperilled by the proximity of Mann, with its separate laws and ambiguous sovereignty, took possession of the Island himself in A.D. 631" (Jarvis).

After the death of Edwin, Northumbria was ruled by Oswald, who invited St. Aidan from Iona to Lindisfarne. Oswy succeeded his brother as king; defeated and slew Penda, the heathen king of Mercia; and Celtic missionaries converted that country. The Celtic mission was to the cottages of the people and the good work was greatly extended by the saintly St. Chad, who became bishop of Mercia in 669. He toiled early and late, journeying from place to place on foot, winning all hearts by his humility, self-denial and patience. Traces of his missionary labours are found in the place-names of the district. It is much more probable that Christianity reached Manchester at this time, the church of St. Michael being built in Alport. "The survival of the old name of Kirk (Kirkmanshulme) shows that even as far south as the Mersey we find this Northumbrian tradition of Christianity. The only similar names are Church Kirk, near Oswaldtwistle, and Kirk Hill in Haslingden" (C. A. Bolton).

The name St. Mary's Gate seems evidence of an early church with that dedication in Manchester, the site of which is usually given as being on the south side of that street, between the present Exchange Street and Deansgate. "The earliest and no doubt most primitive chapel of St. Mary, built some twelve

centuries ago (750), stood close to what we call St. Mary's Gate, a name which means St. Mary's way or path to the church. There can be no doubt that devotion to Our Lady goes back a long way among our distant forefathers, as out of the four churches mentioned by Domesday Book in our territory, two are called St. Mary's" (C. A. Bolton).

Erected on the north chancel arch of the cathedral is the "Angel Stone," which is said to date from Anglian times. Letts gives this account of it:

In taking down the old south porch of the cathedral in February 1871, the workmen came upon a stone in the thickness of the wall, about the level of the ground, which bore unmistakable signs of very early work. It was a large block of red sandstone from the Collihurst quarries weighing some 39 lbs and measuring 13" long by  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " wide, with a varying thickness from  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " to 7". . . . The subject of the carving is a rude bas-relief of an angel bearing a scroll, whose wings are sharp and clear cut, the hands are also distinct though somewhat exaggerated; at the neck we perceive the faint traces of a cross but the angel's features are obliterated. On the scroll are some letters, which also extend to the face of the stone. Professor Sayce ascribed the letters to the eighth century and deciphered them to read: "O! St. Michael, Lord of Heaven, protect me and my soul for ever."

To this Bolton adds:

Some experts, who have examined this ancient relic of the faith of our fathers, have concluded that it may date from the ninth century—a period which is bringing us close to the origins of the faith among the Anglo-Saxon dwellers in these parts. In particular the use of a special form of the letter M, consisting of three upright stems and a transverse bar seems like lettering in the old Saxon Gospels of Lindisfarne, and this special form of the letter is not found after the ninth century.

On the condition of the sculpture, Langton says:

The stone has probably been enclosed in a tabernacle, and has at one time graced the upper part of the south porch of the church immediately over the door; or it may have formed a part of the chancel arch, as in a precisely similar example still to be seen in a Saxon church at Bradford in Wiltshire. The latter supposition is the more probable, as the carving bears no marks of exposure to the weather, but is still tolerably sharp for so friable material as the Collyhurst red sandstone.

Leland says that the stones of the ancient fort were used for making the bridges of the town, and the stones of St. Michael's



ANGEL STONE



in Alport may well have been used to build the first stone Anglian (Saxon) church on the present site and this would account for the presence of the Angel Stone, if it really represents St. Michael.

Canon Hicks translated the inscription: "Into Thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit", the words from Psalm XXXI, spoken by Christ on the Cross. The angel was then identified as Gabriel, but it seems a far stretch of imagination to identify these words with the Annunciation. Crowther says:

The consensus of opinion was that the carving represented the Annunciation; that half of the stone was missing, and that on the missing portion would probably have been found a kneeling figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary. I have no doubt myself that this was really the subject of the carving, so appropriate to the dedication of the church; and there is a probability that it formed part of the tympanum of an old Saxon doorway, probably the south doorway of the nave of the ancient Saxon church.

Phelps points out that the scroll was too small to reveal all the words which pass beyond the rolled-up end. He rejects the idea that this was the Angel of the Annunciation, as the approach was from the wrong side. He imagines that it belonged to the private chapel of a Saxon thane, who built St. Mary's for the common people. But there is no evidence of a Saxon thane on the cathedral site, and certainly not one of sufficient importance to maintain a private chapel.

According to an old Welsh Chronicle, the first Saxon contact with Manchester began with Ina, King of Wessex. The grandsons of Cadwallader, who had been driven out, returned from Ireland and, with the help of the Britons of Wales, had wasted the province of Chester. After inflicting two sanguinary defeats on the raiders, "Ina departed himself to Queen Ethelburga, being then at Mamecestre; and continued there almost three months". Of this story there is no corroboration in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Some time after this reputed Saxon visit, after a desperate struggle, Manchester was destroyed by the Danes. Aston gives the date as about 870. Nico Ditch, from Ashton Moss to Platt Fields, is said to have been dug in a single night, as a defence against the invaders. The slaughter was so great that the names Gore Brook and Reddish are traditionally derived from this conflict. Gore Brook is much more likely to be the muddy

brook and Reddish the reedy ditch. Crofton, however, was of the opinion that the ditch was an agrimensorial (surveyor's) boundary made in Roman times.

An entirely new theory was put forward as the result of a survey in 1956. This suggested that Nico Ditch was made in the sixth century before the fall of the kingdom of Elmet and that the earthwork was turned by Edwin, in 625, when Cedric the last king of Elmet was expelled. But according to most authorities, as stated earlier, the Britons were defeated by Ethelfrith at the battle of Chester in 613 and the Celts of Wales separated from those of Cumbria; so that the Nico Ditch was turned much earlier.

For the second Saxon visit, we have the authority of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which says:

In this year, 923, after harvest, King Edward went with his forces to Thelwall, and commanded the burh to be built and occupied and manned it; and commanded another force, also Mercians, the while that he sate there, to take possession of Mamecestre in Northumbria and man it.

This expulsion of the Danes is depicted on the third mural painting in the Town Hall. The king who thus restored Mamecestre after its destruction by the Danes was Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great. On the death of his sister, Ethelfleda, "The Lady of the Mercians", all the inhabitants of Mercia, both Danish and English, submitted to Edward. Over the porch at the Cooper Street entrance to the Town Hall, there is a statue of Edward the Elder. He is represented in the armour of the period, with a battle-axe in his hand.

Edward's northward advance across the Mersey, which at that time was the Northumbrian boundary, may well have been the real beginning of mediaeval Manchester. He detached from Northumbria all the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, which became royal demesne and was joined to the Mercian diocese of Lichfield. The administrative institutions of the region were assimilated to the Mercian system; the local dialect and place-names show that its population had long been Mercian. It is tempting to imagine that Manchester soon ceased to be a harassed outpost in a desolate frontier region, and had elbow-room in which to develop the peaceful arts of agriculture and local trade; but this is merely a fanciful conjecture. In sober historical fact nothing further is heard of the place until after the Norman Conquest, a century later, and even then the settle-

ment at Manchester seems to have been little more than a tiny village clustering round the parish church. (Redford.) [In a footnote he adds: "the true date was apparently 919", but gives no reason.]

A Saxon "burh" was a fortified enclosure to which the cottagers could escape in times of danger and it is likely that Edward's burh was a portion of the Roman fort, the walls of which were ten feet high as late as 1765. The adjoining land received the name of Castlefield, which it bears to this day. Cottagers spread out thinly on both sides of the Roman road (west of the line of Deansgate), as far as the dwelling-house of the priest, which stood near the site of the modern Deansgate Arcade. Around this dwelling the land sloping down to the river formed the glebe of the priest, who shared the agricultural labours of his people and produced much of his own food. Part of this land still bears the name, The Parsonage. In later years, a priest's house was built on the site of Armstrong's shop. For these cottagers the little church of St Michael in Alport (the Old Town) served.

There grew up another village, in the bend of the river across the ford, named Salford. For the spiritual needs of this vill, the church of St. Mary was built on the south side of St. Mary's Gate, hence the name of that street. O'Dea gives this conjectural description:

The walls were formed of logs of oak, six or seven feet high, sawed in half, the sawn portion being turned to the interior. At the bottom they were cut into a tenon and inserted in a groove cut in a horizontal piece of timber which served as a base sustainment. A second horizontal square timber, grooved like the first, received the ridges of the trunk above. The trunks were set about an inch apart. The interstices let in the light.

It is stated that the corn-mill on the Dene (Hanging Ditch) was built about 930 and that this gave the name to Millgate, the street later to be known as Old Millgate.

The long rule of the Anglo-Saxons left an impress on the people and the places of their occupation, which far surpassed that of the Romans in Britain. The laws of Ina, with those of Alfred and other Anglo-Saxon lawgivers, were maintained, with but slight modifications, for centuries after the Conquest; and to these old laws we must look if we would trace the true source of much of our common law. The Anglo-Saxons gave a significant and characteristic appellation to every vill and hamlet, fold and



homestead, to every wood and plain, field and meadow, and indeed to most of the smaller streams—the brooks and rivulets. If we examine the terminal syllables of local names in and around the manor, and within the old parish of Manchester we find them nearly all Anglo-Saxon. (Harland.)

The picture we get before the Norman Conquest is that of two sparsely inhabited agricultural areas; so poor that the only tax was Danegeld; living in low huts constructed of sods or timber, with roofs of turf or straw. Everyone was dependent on the soil, while the skins of their animals largely furnished them with breeches and shoes. From the fact that the cottagers combined their oxen to form a team, we get the common unit of area given as a ploughland.

For wellnigh a century tradition is silent until King Canute, or more likely a later Danish leader of the same name, is said to have passed through Manchester and given his name to Knott Mill. But it is much more probable that John Knott, of Knott Mylne, who was buried in 1597, originated the name still existing.

## 4. *Manchester and Domesday Survey*

1066-1098

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WHEN William I had been crowned, he assigned the conquered lands of England to his followers. At that time there was no County of Lancashire. The southern portion of this area, known as "the land between the Ribble and the Mersey", had belonged almost entirely to Edward the Confessor. This district was assigned to Roger of Poitou and, together with some lands south of the Lune and estates in other parts of the country, became the Honour of Lancaster. Roger did not become Earl of Lancaster but remained a tenant-in-chief, holding directly from the crown. Honour was a term originally used to designate land granted on condition of military service, equivalent to the term fief and, in England, was applied to the largest grants of land. It is most probable that the early baronage of William the Conqueror lived in timber fortresses. A great palisade or stockade fixed in a mound of earth formed the courtyard in which the main building was the central tower or keep, probably at this time also made of wood, except in the case of the royal castles.

Roger of Poitou is described by Odericus Vitalis as of "great prudence, moderate temper, a lover of justice, and of discretion and modesty in those he had about him". It is, therefore, very unlikely that he was implicated in Duke Robert's rebellion and deprived of his lands. Tait suggests that King William I resumed these frontier lands and compensated Roger elsewhere, giving three reasons: the 1077 rebellion was confined to those who had interests in Normandy; this rebellion did not lead to any forfeitures; and in 1086 Roger was still holding extensive fiefs elsewhere.

At the beginning of the relevant record in the Domesday Survey there is this entry: "King William holds all that land between the Ribble and Mersey which Roger of Poitou held."

In other words, the King at the time of the Survey, held all the lands in this area previously granted by himself to Roger.

This remote and backward part of the country, which consisted largely of barren uplands with a sparsely scattered population, had few attractions for Norman settlers. Some of the few English thanes may have been forced to give up their holdings to Roger's followers, but most remained as under-tenants, doing service or paying rent to the new overlord.

The land between the Ribble and the Mersey was divided into six Hundreds. That which included the valley of the Irwell and its tributaries was called the Hundred of Salford from the ford which was then far more important than the tiny hamlet in Alport and the other adjoining it. The name may be derived from "salf", the dark ford, being under the shadow of the rocky eminence to the north. The Salford Hundred measured about twenty-five miles from east to west and twenty-three from north to south.

In 1086 the survey of England ordered by William the Conqueror was completed.

The dispatch with which this survey was executed was remarkable. Persons called the king's justiciars were appointed who, either in person or by deputy, visited the greater part of the country, and from the oaths of the sheriff, the lord of the manor, the priest of each church, the reeve of each hundred, and the bailiff and six villeins of each vill, obtained the name of each place, who held it in the time of Edward the Confessor, who was the present holder, its extent, the number of tenants of each class, bond and free, the homagers of each manor, the extent of wood, meadow, and pasture, the mills and ponds, the gross value in King Edward's time and, which gives a key to the whole, whether any advance could be made in the value. (Reilly.)

The reports of these Commissioners were written on vellum and form two volumes of unequal size. One is a folio of 382 pages, written in a small hand; the other, a quarto of 450 pages, in a larger one. Both volumes are in an excellent state of preservation and were published at the expense of the government. The name was derived either from the Chapter House at Westminster (*Domus Dei*), where the records were kept, or given because its authority was not permitted to be disputed.

Domesday Book is written in Latin but its entries are very brief; the verb often being omitted. That part relevant to our area reads:

King Edward held (the Hundred of) Salford. There (are) three hides and twelve carves (ploughlands) of land waste. And forest three miles long, and the same broad.

And there (are) many hays (railed or hedged enclosures for deer) and an aery of hawks.

King Edward held Radecliue (Radcliffe) for a manor. There (is) one hide, and another hide belonging to Salford.

The church of St. Mary and the church of St Michael held in Mamecestre (Manchester) one carve of land free from all customs save geld. (2s. per hide). To this (Salford) Hundred there belonged twenty-one berewicks (hamlets) which were held by as many thanes, for so many manors, in which there were eleven hides and a half, and ten carves and a half of land. The woods there are nine miles and a half long and five miles and one-eighth broad.

One of these (thanes) Gamel, holding two hides in Recedham (Rochdale).

The whole manor of Salford with the hundred paid (to King Edward) thirty-seven pounds four shillings. This demesne is worth one hundred shillings. The land of this manor is held of the knights by the gift of Roger of Poitou. . . .

Five knights received grants, but not one of them is named as holding Manchester; hence one might conclude that it remained for a time under the seigniorship of Roger of Poitou. But Farrer says that Nigel held it until 1102. The area of the Hundred of Salford was about 400 square miles. Woods, probably all the growth of the six centuries between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Normans, spread over forty-nine square miles. In addition, forests which included some pasture land with deer-hays and an aery of hawks, covered nine miles. Manwood's Forest Laws defined forest as "territory of woody ground, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of the forest, chace and warren, to rest and abide in under the protection of the king, for his pleasure and recreation". Severe penalties were imposed upon those who infringed the forest laws. In addition, there were in the district large stretches of waste and marsh, many large ponds and wide sprawling rivers.

It is significant of the barrenness of the district that only four places are named: Manchester, Salford, Radcliffe and Rochdale. Farrer estimated that the population of the whole extensive Hundred was not more than 3,000. But Harland says that it would not exceed ninety families, chiefly in and around the four hamlets named and that the rest of the district was



either wood or forest, or dreary uncultivated waste. The villeins had land, oxen and ploughs. They tilled their master's fields as well as their own; their families and their goods were his property and none could leave his estate without permission. The cottagers had smaller holdings; while the serfs were slaves, with no legal rights, the lowest class of all. Formerly the whole Hundred had been worth £37 4s. a year. Now, through depopulation and neglect, the annual value had fallen to £12.

There was one priest for the whole Hundred and one ploughland, free of all tax except Danegeld, was set aside for the churches of St. Michael and St. Mary. This was the piece of land stretching from Deansgate to the Irwell, a portion of which is still known as The Parsonage. Kirkmanshulme, because of its Anglo-Saxon meaning of churchman's meadow, is often stated to have been this ploughland. But as Farrer says, one would expect the ancient Saxon endowment to be near the church. He considers Kirkmanshulme to be a later grant, to which the local inhabitants might easily give an Anglo-Saxon name although granted by a Norman baron.

It should be noted that Domesday Book does not state that either of the churches named was actually in Manchester, though the fact that their endowment was there would naturally lead to this conclusion. Considerable controversy has arisen as to the whereabouts of this St. Michael's. Professor Tait identified it with the parish church of Ashton-under-Lyne, which at that time was in the parish of Manchester and is dedicated to St. Michael. But if Ashton-under-Lyne had been important enough to possess a church it would have been mentioned along with the other four places named in Domesday. So the silence of that record rules out that church as the St. Michael's of the Survey.

Moreover, the first mention of Ashton-under-Lyne is in a deed executed some time before 1262. Thomas, sixth Baron of Manchester, tried to enfeoff his second son Peter, who was a priest, with advowsons to the churches of Manchester and Childwall, and the chapels of Ashton, Hale and Garstan pertaining to the said churches. This enfeoffment was set aside by Henry III. If this Thomas had founded a chapel at Ashton, one can understand why the place is not mentioned in Domesday and yet appears in the Inquisition of 1282 as worth only twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.).

As the parish church of Radcliffe, one of the four places mentioned in Domesday, is dedicated to St. Mary it would be more reasonable to identify the Domesday St. Mary's with that town. Of the other two towns, Salford had no church until 1635 and that of Rochdale was dedicated to St. Chad.



## 5. *Norman Barons of Manchester*

1098-1217

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CONTRADICTORY accounts are given of the first connection of the Grelly family with Manchester. Like most others at this period, the name is variously spelled as Greslet, Gresley, Gredle or Grelle. Its meaning is usually given as unusually slim but it may be a nickname for something less pleasant, namely pockmarked. The name first appears in Domesday Book in the Hundred of Blackburn, where he was jointly granted lands which were so impoverished that the tenants had them rent-free for three years. By the time of William II he had resigned or been deprived of this land. It seems certain that he did not join the rebellion of 1102 against Henry I when Roger of Poitou was banished.

Farrer says that this king began to regroup the old fiefs and, by increasing the estates of knightly families of lower degree, created a new and more loyal baronage. To this influence we may trace the creation of the Barony of Manchester and its bestowal on either Albert Grelly or his son Robert. The family already held estates in Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire. Feudal services by which the Grellys held their estates were a share in the defence of Lancaster Castle and the providing of twelve knights for service, when required. Less than half of these came from their northern lands. For over 200 years, eight successive members of this family continued as lords of Manchester.

Robert Grelly and his son Albert were joint founders of the Cistercian Abbey of Swineshead in Lincolnshire, but the date of the foundation is variously given. To this abbey Robert Grelly gave his mill at Manchester. Robert is supposed to have died about 1135 and to have been buried in his Lincolnshire foundation, but Farrer says that he lived to extreme old age and survived until about 1154.

Albert Grelly, who succeeded his father, is generally known as Albert the Elder to distinguish him from his son of the same name. Thomas of Monmouth's *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* contains a fanciful story of the wonderful cure of a sick falcon in answer to the prayers of the boy Albert Grelly. Some years before he became third Baron of Manchester, Albert had married Maud, daughter of William Fitz-Nigel, Constable of Chester. On her early death he inherited the Manor of Cuerdley in Lancashire as well as large accessions of property elsewhere. Albert, senior, gave Wulric de Mamecestre four oxgangs of land of his demesne for five shillings per annum. This is believed to be the estate of Nuthurst in Moston. Further, Albert senior gave four oxgangs of his estate to the church of Manchester.

This grant, Farrer believed, was that of Kirkmanshulme. Hibbert-Ware identified the grant with the Parsonage lands, though the latter were much more likely to be the old endowment of pre-Norman times. Albert Grelly gave to Swineshead Abbey one croft in Manchester, containing eighteen acres and known as Wythacres, the site of which is unknown.

Albert Grelly, the Younger, succeeded his father about 1166. He married a daughter of Thomas Basset, an eminent justiciar in the reign of Henry II. At his father's death in 1179-80, his young son, Robert, was not yet seven and came under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather and later of his uncle. This state of wardship continued until the sixth year of the reign of Richard I, 1194.

Robert Grelly, the second of that name and fifth Baron of Manchester, was one of the foremost figures amongst the barons of the north in the eventful reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III. A warrior, statesman, and legislator, he forms one of the most attractive personages in our Anglo-Norman annals. Soon after he reached the age of sixteen he married a niece of William de Longchamp, Chancellor of England. After attaining his majority he succeeded to his estates and the quota of £21 from twelve knights' fees was pardoned to Robert Gresle at Michaelmas, 1194, by the king's writ because the sheriff, Theobald Walter, sent word that his knights had gone away with the king into Normandy.

There is a deed of Robert Grelly in the Record Office, London, the seal of which bears an equestrian figure of a knight

holding his sword in the right hand and shield in the left. The circumscription is clearly visible—*Sigillvm Roberti Grellei*. King John, in 1203, asked the aid of Robert de Greidley, along with others (by grace only, not by custom), for help in enlarging Lancaster Castle.

Owing to John's misrule, the barons met at Stamford on March 19, 1215, and drew up a list of reforms. Robert Grelly, who was present, was described by Matthew Paris as a "presumptuous and fiery baron". When the King refused to accept the barons' demands, the lord of Manchester joined in their march to London. He was present at Runnymede. Here came:

. . . on the one side that weak, profligate and perfidious despot, John Lackland, with Pandulph, the papal legate, eight bishops obeying the pope against their country's weal, and not more than fifteen noblemen and knights. On the other side stood Stephen Langton, the primate of England and the soul of the enterprise, and with him the barons composing "the army of God and the Holy Church", the entire nobility of England. For five days the barons urged their various articles or heads of agreement, which were one by one reluctantly yielded by the king; and these were afterwards embodied in a charter which from its momentous value in securing the rights and liberties of Englishmen through ages of oppression, has been named the Great Charter; "*Magna Carta*". To this charter the royal seal was affixed at Runnymede on Friday the 19th June; but it is dated on the 15th, the first day of this remarkable conference." (Harland.)

Pope Innocent III issued sentence of excommunication against the barons, Robert Grelly among them. When King John failed to keep his promises, the barons took up arms and Robert joined them. Geoffrey de Ferland certified the king of the names of those who had borne arms against him and among them appeared that of Robert de Gresley. As a result on February 7, 1216, King John sent his letters patent to the sheriff of Lancaster, Gilbert fitz Reinfred.

The king to the sheriff of Lancaster greeting. Know that we have committed to our beloved and faithful Adam de Yeland the castle of Mamecestre, with all appurtenances and all the land of the same Robert, which he held under the Lyne, to be held so long as it shall please us. Wherefore we also command that you may direct full seisin to the said Adam of the foresaid castle with appurtenances and of the said land under the Lyne.

So that after only eight months the king violated the charter.

The castle of Manchester was no doubt a fortress which had been constructed upon the site of, and perhaps with materials from, the Roman castrum; for nothing is more reasonable than the supposition that the Norman lords of Manchester would keep in repair the Anglo-Saxon fort of Mancastle, and perhaps reconstruct its defences according to their own system of castramentation. From this time we hear no more of the castle of Manchester. (Reilly.)

John was seized with illness at Swineshead, the monastery founded by the ancestors of Robert Grelly, and died seven days later at Newark. The death of the king caused the barons to abandon all opposition to the crown and to swear allegiance to his infant son.

Hubert de Burgh, the Regent, on October 30, 1217, in the name of Henry III, directed the sheriffs of Oxford, Lincoln, and Rutland without delay to restore the like seisin to Robert Grelle as he had on the day in which he withdrew from fealty and service of King John, because he had returned to the king's fealty and service. On the day these same sheriffs and that of Lancaster were directed to distain Robert Gresle to render scutage which had been granted by the common council of the kingdom, at the rate of two marks on each fee.

For almost a century after the Conquest, the Grellys had lived either at Tunstead in Suffolk or Sixhills in Lincolnshire. By the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the security which had followed the new rulers and the careful management by their bailiffs had so improved their northern estates that Robert Grelly became the first Norman baron to settle in the town.

Until this time, the village had consisted of a cluster of dwellings in Alport (the old Town) near the Roman fort, with scattered cottages in the fields along Deansgate. This lane takes its name from the "Dene" or valley (which at that time ran sharply down the north side of what is now Hanging Ditch and Cateaton Street) and gate, i.e. the way; a name later transferred to the obstruction that barred the way. Whitaker derived the name from the residence of a supposed Dean in Anglo-Saxon times but this is only one of his fanciful conjectures. The name in old charters is Denesgate and there is a street of similar name in Bolton which led to a valley or dene and where there never was a resident dean. Alport Lane stretched from the present Peter Street to Knott Mill.



The decision of Robert Grelly to settle in Manchester marks the beginning of the town round the Chetham-Cathedral site and along the Irk. To this stream the town owes the beginning of its prosperity. For centuries, the turbulent powerful waters of the Irk provided the power which ground the corn and malt of the inhabitants and later furnished water for the tan-pits cut out of the solid rock along its banks. The stream now goes underground at Scotland Bridge and flows under Victoria Station to join the Irwell at the foot of Hunt's Bank near the rear entrance to Exchange Station.

The residence of a rich landlord like Robert Grelly led to a considerable influx of "foreigners"—stonemasons, carpenters, farriers, gardeners and the like—who held their lands on condition of doing necessary work for the baron. These workmen were needed for the new stone manor house which Robert Grelly began to build. The lower portion of the building along the line of the Irk, which now forms the kitchen and offices of Chetham's Hospital may well be this original dwelling-house, though it is asserted that the old building was demolished. Probably, also, Robert Grelly built a wooden bridge over the Dene or Hangan (hollow) Ditch on the site of the present stone one and another bridge over the Irk at the end of the ancient Hunt's Bank in order to bring in timber from the woods of Bradford and stone from the quarries at Collyhurst. From this time, too, arises the settlement of the smith on the Irwell which gave the name Smithy Bank to the steep slope from Deansgate to the river near the ford.

It seems likely that at this period, the land round the baron's dwelling was cut up into about 150 burgages granted to his tenants. Professor Tait says:

... the feudal baron was keenly alive to the income that could be drawn from a town under his control as well as to the development of his estates which it facilitated. The profits of markets and fairs and the increased revenue from manorial mills and oven, far more than compensated him for the loss of the townsmen's labour services. The Crown, not without an eye to a share of the profit, kept control over the creation of such towns by reserving the right of granting licences to hold markets and fairs.

A feoffment is thus recorded in Testa de Nevil: "Robert Gredle who now is (1212) gave to Asce the clerk a parcel of his Mamecestre demesne for 3s. This same Asce holds that



land." There seems no reason why this grant should be connected with Acresfield, as was done by Hibbert-Ware, simply on a supposed similarity of pronunciation. The grant was much more likely to be an addition to the church lands in The Parsonage.

Hudson says that Robert Grelly began the erection of a stone church of St. Mary on the cathedral site to mollify the Pope and secure the repeal of his excommunication. Then, as if doubtful of this statement, he suggests that it was an act of local patriotism for the recovery of his estates. Neither of these reasons seems necessary.

Several remains of Early English architecture were seen by Crowther during the restoration taking place in his day and these may well relate to a church founded by Robert Grelly. Crowther adds:

If the evidences of a Saxon church, constructed with stone, having formerly existed on this site should appear too scanty to be conclusive, such an objection cannot be sustained for a moment against the former existence of a church of the 13th century in that material. The Early English remains which have cropped up from time to time are too numerous to leave any room for doubt on this point.

## 6. *The Annual Fair*

1217-1281

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**B**y 1222, the increasing importance of the town and the growing prosperity of the manor is shown when Robert Grelly obtained from the Regent, Hubert de Burgh, the right to hold a yearly fair. As Henry III was a minor, the grant was only for five years and in consideration of one palfrey (a small saddle horse) to the king. The grant was not in his town or borough but at his manor and was limited to two days, the eve and the feast of St. Matthew.

In this year also Robert Grelly was excused the payment of £6 due for twelve months castleward of Lancaster Castle as he had served with the king in the army at Newark. Actual military service to the king released him from the lesser duty to the Honour of Lancaster, this payment being a commutation of personal service. On February 11, 1225, Robert Grelly was a witness to the confirmation of Magna Carta at Westminster.

There was a bridge between Manchester and Salford, on the site of the old ford, as early as 1226, for in that year a rent of twelve pence was paid for "a toft in Salford by the Bridge". This was probably the wooden bridge, traces of whose foundations were found later. Having penetrated through seven or eight feet of gravel and sand, workmen discovered the oaken beam ends of a wooden bridge sunk into the red rock. There were three square sockets at different points, two feet deep and three feet square into which several upright oaken beams had been driven, each united by four iron cleats. These supported the wooden superstructure of the bridge. In the absence of any record, it is impossible to say how long this wooden bridge lasted, but probably until it was replaced by the first stone bridge on the same site.

When Henry III came of age, in 1227, he renewed the grant of the fair in perpetuity to Robert Grelly and his heirs. No

consideration was stated in the charter but, from the Pipe Rolls, we know that five marks and a palfrey was paid. The fair was extended to three days, including also the morrow of St. Matthew. This was September 20 to 22, but when the new style of reckoning was adopted the dates became October 1 to 3. After the harvest had been gathered, when money was more abundant and the inhabitants no less than the lord would reap the greatest benefit, was the most suitable time for the fair which was opened with imposing ceremony.

Acresfield, which contained four large Lancashire acres, comprised what is now St. Ann's Square with the surrounding area. This was chosen by the lord of the manor as the site of the fair, so it became known as Acres Fair. Acresfield was then common ploughland and pasture, bounded on all sides by a close hedge and a ditch filled with water from some rills from the more elevated ground to the east. The presence of water was very important for the animals brought to the fair. As the field was the common property of the villagers, they claimed access to it by prescriptive right and enforced this claim to it except during the time of the fair. Hibbert Ware records:

A very ancient custom prevailed for the inhabitants to assemble long before daybreak upon the first day of the fair, armed with whips and acorns, in protest against the intrusion of the lord, cracking their whips and pelting with acorns the first sheep, cow, pig or horse which entered the arena of the fair.

Acresfield was pleasantly surrounded on the Denesgate side at Alport by a fine stretch of moor and heather, thirty acres in extent; a wood one mile in circuit with oaks and other trees; twenty acres of pasture and two acres of meadow. On the other side of Denesgate, from the present Back King Street to Alport, were the arable fields of the village farmed on the old open-field system. Toll Lane, the way into the fair, was a narrow pathway leading from Denesgate to Acresfield. Here the lord's officials collected the tolls on everything brought for sale. The charges were probably similar to those imposed in the market. In 1832 the lane was widened and renamed St. Ann's Street.

By writ of Privy Seal, dated December 20, 1230, the sheriff of Lincoln certified that "Robert Gresle, who held of the King in chief is dead", and that he would take all the lands which the said Robert held into the royal hands.

The King, having received the homage of Thomas Gredle, son and heir of Robert, on January 3rd, 1231, commanded the sheriff of Lancaster to give him livery of his Inheritance, and also to diligently enquire, by true and liege men of the county, how much land the said Robert held of the King in chief in his bailiwick, by what service, and whether in chief as of the Crown, or as of the Honour of Lancaster as of the King's escheat.

A similar writ was also directed to the sheriffs of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Oxford. (Fine Roll.)

Thomas Grelly offered a fine of 100 marks to be excused from accompanying the king to France in his attempt to recover Poitou; but later the fine was excused, as, in the meantime, Thomas had come to Gascony in the king's service. Other records are given of his attendance upon his sovereign for the performance of military service with his knights.

On October 13, 1245, the king sent his mandate to the Justiciar of Chester to deliver five bucks and fifteen does alive out of the park at Macclesfield to Thomas Grelly wherewith to stock his park of Manchester, by the king's gift.

Thomas, sixth baron of Manchester, was passionately fond of the chase and, in 1249, paid to the king twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) for a grant of free warren. It is probable that there was liberty of chase over the lands of the barony by ancient prescription but that this legal grant was sought to prevent any dispute over the privilege with the newly-created first Earl of Lancaster, Edmund the younger son of Henry III. Forest laws, imposed by our early Norman kings, vested the sole right to all game in the king alone. No man, not even the lord of the manor, could enjoy the sport of the chase unless he had free warren. This franchise was granted to Thomas Grelly for the protection of the beasts and fowls of the forests on condition that the grantee prevented all other persons from killing them.

At Horwich, Thomas Grelly had wide hunting grounds and it has been suggested that he made his chief residence at a hunting seat which he built near by and not at Manchester. Nearer to the town, he had an enclosed deer park at Blackley. There were also two woods, one at Bradford noted for its stores of honey and the other at the Alport end of Deansgate where there were herons, hawks and perhaps eagles.

In 1258, Thomas Grelly was one of the barons appointed by the Provisions of Oxford to constitute the Parliament of the



Realm. Next year, he obeyed the king's summons to join him at Chester in an expedition against the Welsh. In the same year, he was appointed a justiciar of the king's forests on the south side of the Trent. For this office his knowledge of forest law doubtless qualified him. But he only held the office for a year or two for he died at the end of 1261. By his wife, Christian Ledet, he had two sons. The elder, Robert, died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son of tender years of the same name. Peter, the second son of Thomas, was a priest and his father handed over to him the custody of the two rich advowsons of Manchester and Childwall; each worth 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). Of the former he was custodian or keeper, not, as Baines states, warden, for it was not yet a Collegiate Church. Later this grant, which contains the first reference to a church at Ashton-under-Lyne, was set aside by the king.

As Robert, seventh baron, was only ten on the death of his grandfather, he became a ward of the king and his lands passed to an escheator who administered them until he reached his majority. The escheator assigned Swineshead and Sixhills in Lincolnshire as a dowry for his widowed mother. Robert was promised in marriage to one of the daughters of John Balliol, afterwards King of Scots, but the marriage never took place.

In 1273, the Baron of Manchester was summoned by writ to Parliament for the first time. From that date until the reign of Elizabeth I, the town was represented in the House of Lords.

Robert Grelly came of age in 1275, and in May the king sent his mandate to the escheator to deliver to him his lands south of the Trent the custody whereof had been committed to the king's brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. A further mandate was sent to the escheator beyond the Trent "to deliver to Robert the manors of Mamecestre, Barton and Kyuerdelegh, saving the right of Peter Grelly". Two years later, Robert received a summons to perform military service in person against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales. In pursuance of this, Robert Grelly proceeded to Worcester and took part in the expedition named.

At the age of twenty-eight, Robert married Hawise, daughter and co-heir of John de Burgh, son of the celebrated Hubert. This Hawise was a daughter of Cicely, sister of John Balliol, King of Scots. Thomas, the son and heir of Robert Grelly, was under three years old at the time of his father's death.



## 7. *The Baronial Charter*

1282-1308

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EDWARD I has been called "The English Justinian". The first statute of his reign was one authorizing the comprehensive survey (extent) of manors, with an inventory of all that belonged to them, together with their valuation and an account of the rights and duties belonging to them.

Thomas, eighth baron, being a minor, was a ward of the king. Consequently, in 1282 an Inquisition (Enquiry) was sent to the escheator and another to the sheriff to enquire into the possessions of the deceased baron. The results of these proceedings have been published and from them we obtain the fullest account, so far, of the manor of Manchester and the first reference to the presence of a market.

When the market originated is unknown. Quite likely it began on a Sunday when people from far and near came to church and, before and after service, exchanged their goods. Sunday markets were not forbidden until the time of Edward I and even then continued in some places. A market was a necessity to an early community.

For the provision of recognised meeting places for the purchase and sale of goods not only enabled the people of the neighbourhood to dispose of their surplus produce and to obtain the things which they could not supply themselves; but was one of the principal factors which encouraged the settlement of a non-agricultural population. The artisan and trader found in the village which possessed a market his best chance of obtaining a livelihood. The market thus distinguished an agricultural community from its neighbours, and transformed it into a town, which subsequently grew more or less rapidly according to the convenience of its situation for industry and trade. Without the provision of regular markets both the production and the distribution of commodities would have been restricted to operations on a very small scale. (Tupling.)

Today the place of the market is taken by shops. But in early days, not only the housewife but also the men of the district did all their buying and selling there. Open market was intended to guarantee a fair price and a satisfactory product. Exchange in the presence of witnesses prevented traffic in stolen goods. Quite possibly an embryo market existed in Anglian (Saxon) times. One way in which the new Norman lords may have made their presence felt was by the imposition of market tolls. Frequent periods of residence by the lord of the manor caused an increase in the size and importance of the market as well as widening the variety of products.

Many interesting facts may be gleaned from this survey of 1282. By this date the tolls of market and fair amounted to £6 13s. 4d., which was nearly as much as the yearly rents of all the burgages. The herbage and fruit in the gardens of the manor house were worth 2s. yearly. This would include the land forming the Chetham's Hospital grounds together with the site of the present cathedral, out to the Dene or Hangan (Hollow) Ditch. The park, from about Quay Street to the site of the Roman fort, was worth £1 13s. 4d. for herbage (pasture) and pannage (the right of feeding swine).

Two water-driven mills are mentioned. One for grinding corn was valued at £17 6s. 8d. Hibbert-Ware says that this corn mill was on the Dene, Hanging Ditch, and gave the name to Old Millgate, but that it was deserted for a new corn mill on the Irk in the time of Thomas Grelly early in the fourteenth century. The new mill gave the name Long Millgate to the winding lane which led to it. But it seems much more likely that the old mill was abandoned earlier and that the one in this *Rental* was the corn mill on the Irk.

The other, a fulling mill on the Irk, was worth £1 6s. 8d. All the tenants of Manchester were bound to grind their corn and malt at the lord's mill, paying a proportion in kind to the miller. Corn, being in greater demand than woollen cloth, the rent of the former mill was much greater than the latter. Fulling meant cleansing and thickening the cloth with fuller's earth. As the workers were called "walkers" the field where they spread their "cuts" was named Walkers' Croft. The site is now beneath Victoria Station but the name persists in the narrow winding lane at the rear of Chetham's Hospital.

The common oven, in Long Millgate, was let for a yearly

rent of 10s., the baker charging a fee, probably a half-penny. As the burgage-holders do not appear to have had the right to take kindling from the woods of Alport and Bradford, it seems likely that the fuel was provided by the lord of the manor. The rent of the ploughlands near the vill was 16s. 6d. The total rent of Mamecestre burgages was £7 3s. 2d. and, as the rent of a single burgage was 12 pence yearly, this gives a total of 143 burgages. Villeins of Ardwick had the duty of hewing mill-stones from the quarry, being allowed 4d. for loading and 6s. 8d. for carrying them to the mill at Manchester.

Hugh of Manchester undertook, in 1294, an embassy from Edward I to demand from Philip of France such lands in Aquitaine as that monarch detained from the English king. Hugh came into prominence by exposing an impostor who pretended to have been cured of blindness at the tomb of Henry III. But it is doubtful whether Hugh had any connection with our northern town and more probably belonged to the family of Mancestre in Warwickshire.

In 1295, Henry de Ancotes gave to Alexander le Tinctore (the dyer) de Mamecestre, an acre of land with a messuage. If, as seems likely, the latter was the same as the Alexander to whom Robert, son of Robert, son of Simon Tinctore, gave two ridges of land in Ancotes, dyeing was carried on in the town two generations earlier. The oldest textile fabric of England was coarse woollen cloth and this was probably the material dyed by Alexander le Tinctore.

On May 14, 1301, Thomas, eighth baron, granted a Charter to his burgage-holders. His statue is on the façade of the Town Hall at the Princess Street end of Albert Square. He holds in his hand the sealed Charter he has granted to the town and his shield, hanging by his side, bears the arms which were later incorporated into that of the town.

Being in favour of the King who as lord of the hundred and manor of Salford, might otherwise have opposed such a grant, Thomas Grelle was enabled to withdraw his burgesses of Mamecestre from the jurisdiction not only of the Salford hundred court, but also from that of the sheriff's tourn, or county court, and to give them courts of their own within the town. . . . The young baron, last of his line, granted to his town tenants or burgesses a Charter confirming rights, privileges and immunities (many of them, doubtless, enjoyed, originally by prescription), under which the town was governed in the strictest feudal law and usage for

upwards of five centuries. What the Magna Carta gave to the people of England at large, this Charter, in a special and limited degree, confined and secured to the burgesses of Mamecestre. It is therefore a record of the deepest interest to the past history of the place. (Harland.)

Manchester had some borough characteristics before the granting of the Charter, but these earlier privileges were dependent upon the will of the lord. Increasing trade and prosperity led the burgesses to secure self-government and the confirmation of their rights and privileges in perpetuity. But the granting of the Charter did not make Manchester a borough, it still remained only a market town. The original Charter measures  $13\frac{3}{4}$  inches across as the lines run, and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in depth. The seal on the original document is of dark green wax and bears the letters "S. R. Grelle. Secret", i.e. secret seal of Robert Grelle, so that he must still have been using that of his deceased father.

The Charter concerns itself, in the main, with four subjects :

- (1) Burgage tenure and the rights and privileges of their owners.
- (2) Trade regulations, embracing freedom from toll throughout the manor and provision of standings in the weekly market.
- (3) Government of the town by an elected Boroughreeve and a Portmoot.
- (4) A warranty clause guaranteeing these privileges with the reservation of the right to collect tallages, i.e. taxes levied by the king

There is a facsimile in Harland's *Mamecestre I* and a transcription and translation in *Mamecestre II*. A comparison of this with those of Salford and Stockport is given in Tait's *Mediaeval Manchester*.

Burgage tenure meant that the former services in labour and kind had been commuted for a yearly rent of 12*d*. As the size of each burgage was already fixed, it was not considered necessary to state this in the Charter. Included with the burgage was the site of the dwelling with some land attached, usually at the rear, and probably certain rights in the common fields. The burgage might be sold, divided or rented to another, and a widow had the right to remain therein. But the owner who left the town had to pay 4*d*. to his lord.



In Manchester, unlike some others. the rights of taking sticks for fuel or timber for building from the woods of the lord were not granted. Young swine might be fed in the woods until the time of pannage, i.e. the autumn when the beechnuts and acorns lay on the ground. This pannage for fattening swine was of great importance because every household salted down pork for winter use. If the swine remained, the usual charge was one in ten, but later it became the payment of a penny per head.

As to trade, the burgess, whether buying or selling, was to be free from toll within the lord's domain. The Boroughreeve was to put every burgess in possession of his proper stall in the market-place on payment of one penny. From these stalls were sold the necessary articles of food and apparel such as husbandmen, artificers, or thrifty housewives brought to market. For merchants, bringing goods from a distance, lock-up sheds instead of open stalls were provided. If a burgess aspired to one of these he had to pay the same rent as a stranger. But there were no permanent shops in our modern sense.

The holders of burgages were authorized by their Charter to elect anyone they pleased from among themselves to be reeve and they had power to remove the reeve. This elected Boroughreeve took the place of the bailiff to whom the lord had formerly farmed out the collection of the revenue and whose exactions had often been oppressive.

The duties of the Boroughreeve, as laid down in the Charter, were both numerous and important. He was the representative of the burgesses in their dealings with the manorial authority, and was responsible to the lord for the maintenance of order and the observance of regulations. All transference of property within the town was to be made in his presence. In cases of theft or assault, the boroughreeve was responsible for apprehending the accused person and taking security for his appearance at court to stand his trial, in some cases the boroughreeve was responsible for laying the charge against the offender. He acted also as the receiver of the lord's burgage rents, stallage dues and market tolls. (Redford.)

Four times a year every burgess, or his eldest son or wife, had to appear in the Portmoot, or town's meeting, without any summons by the Boroughreeve or excuse for non-attendance. At more frequent intervals, the Lawmoot, or Court of the burgesses, met and dealt with similar business. The townsman's



right to trial in his own court of burgesses was an important privilege. It gave him protection even against the feudal tenants, pleas of the crown and charges of the theft only excepted. Villeins had to bring burgesses or other lawful men as witnesses before they could bring a charge against the holder of a burgage. A curious regulation regarding assault made the fine 12*d.* on a week-day but 20*s.* if it took place after noon on Saturday or on a Sunday.

It was reported by the Jury of the Court Leet on October 10, 1654, that the Charter of the Town of Manchester was lost. But it must soon have been found for on May 8 next year, they record: "We the Jury do also order that the Charter that now is in the Custody of the Boroughreeve and Constables may be translated into English for the better satisfaction of any Burgess if need require." Two years later, October 6, 1657: "The Jury doth order that the Boroughreeve shall cause to be entered in the Town's book, fair written a copy of the Charter of this towne in the English tongue."

This translation by Wm. Heawood, Steward of the Court Leet, is printed in the Court Leet Records 4/214 and in Baines's *Lancashire*. He was paid 10*s.* 6*d.* for his work.

Merewether and Stephens regarded the document, not as a charter, but simply as a Custumale, or record of customs and usages.

To this view we demure on the ground that its form is utterly different from that of the ancient Custumal, which was a claim made by the burgesses to certain liberties as against the lord or any other authority, and also that while the voice of the Custumale is always that of the citizens or burgesses, the voice of the Manchester document throughout is that of the lord of the manor. It is in the strict form of a charter; it is called a charter in its first sentence; it has the usual form of a deed of gift and grant, with the warranty of the grantor and his heirs; it is duly witnessed by men of rank and substance, and it has the seal of the grantor duly appended. (Harland.)

Thomas Grelly was summoned in 1300 and again in the next year to perform military service against William Wallace in Scotland. In 1306 he was summoned to perform military service in person against the Scots under Robert Bruce, or to appear in the exchequer to compound for such service.

In 1307, the king sent his mandate to Thomas Grelly to do homage to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, notwithstanding that

he had already done homage to the king. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron by writ, March 10, 1308.

Thomas Grely never married and as he had no brother his next of kin was his only sister Joan, married to Sir John la Warre, baron of Wickmar, county Gloucester. Perhaps to escape implications in Thomas of Lancaster's opposition to Edward II, or on account of ill-health, Thomas Grely went to reside with his sister where he died soon after June 1313. With Thomas died out the last remaining of the old Conquest families who had held Lancashire baronies.



#### SEVEN STARS, WITHY GROVE

Its claims to have been licensed in 1356 and to be the oldest licensed house are untenable, because the first mention of such licence is in 1551. Before that date anyone could sell ale. Harrison Ainsworth started the fictions that Guy Fawkes stayed here and that there was an underground passage to Ordsall Hall, both of which are totally untrue

## 8. *Warrior Barons*

1308-1397

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FOUR years before his death, Thomas Grelly made a formal grant of his manor of Manchester to John la Warre, knight, and Joan his wife. This grant, on May 14, 1309, was subject to the payment of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) during the remainder of his life. Thomas continued to be treated as baron of Manchester, being summoned to Parliament and also to serve in the wars until the year of his death, 1313.

The ninth baron of Manchester was a warrior from his youth up. In 1297, John la Warre had accompanied Edward I into Flanders and in the next year served in Scotland against Sir William Wallace. He continued on service against the Scots for the rest of the reign, though in 1307 the king issued a writ ordering the seizure of the lands, goods and chattels of John la Warre because he had absented himself from the army in Scotland without licence. Probably the failing health of Edward I prevented the writ from being executed.

Soon after he came into possession of the manor, John la Warre alienated it, along with other family property, to the Cistercian Abbey of Dore, though he retained the title, lord of Manchester. So, for sixteen years, the real manorial lords were an abbot and a monastery of white monks in Herefordshire. This may explain the names Geoffrey and Hugh of the Abbey, who may have received grants at this time or have been sent from Dore. This would account for the later name of Abbey-Hey. They each held one messuage and an oxgang of land in Gorton at a rent of 4s. 5d. a year. Harland suggests that the mill at Manchester granted by Robert Grelly, second baron, to Swineshead nearly two hundred years earlier was the water-driven corn mill in Gorton and that this gave rise to the name Abbey-Hey. But the appellation "of the Abbey" seems hardly likely to have persisted all this time.

Whether the Survey of 1320 was made on behalf of the Abbey of Dore is unknown but this document gives an interesting sidelight on the products brought to the market and the tolls levied thereon. Even purchase tax is not new, for on many essential goods the buyer paid toll as well as the seller:

A hive of bees, honey and wax, sold, of the buyer a halfpenny, and of the seller a halfpenny. For every man's load of geese, capons, cocks, hens, eggs, or of whatsoever corn or grain, of the buyer a farthing and of the seller a farthing. For every horse load of corn, bread, flour (or meal) of every kind of fish except salmon, herring and that kind, or (every horse load) of cloth, of the buyer a penny and of the seller a penny. For every salmon sold, of the seller a halfpenny, of the buyer a halfpenny abolished. [Probably because of complaints.] For every piece of linen cloth, of the buyer a halfpenny and of the seller a halfpenny. For every load of garlic, onions, cheese and coals of the buyer a penny and of the seller a penny. For every horse-load of bake-stones, of the seller a halfpenny; and of everything of the like kind, as much as the seller. For a horse-load or the like quantity of jars and jugs, of the seller as much as the buyer.

The bakestone was a flat stone, varying in value with its size from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* each, used for baking oatcakes upon. Only the seller of these stones paid toll.

On the following, only the seller paid toll. Every horse-load of things not named, sold within the sheds of the lord,  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* A load of spices, sold within the lord's sheds,  $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Spices included many things not now so called, such as rice and rice meal, raisins, currants, prunes, almonds, liquorice, sugar, barley-sugar, saffron, cakes, etc. Strangely enough, the buyer only paid on "Every load of black iron and the like" (i.e., other metals).

There is a mention of Saltergate, probably Burnage Lane, in this Survey but no notice of selling salt. The first record of the sale of salt is in the Court Leet Records of April 1563. In 1657 Edward Byrom leased a stall for selling salt, formerly in the holding of Richard Nield at the same time that he leased the Shambles property.

On horses, cattle, pigs, sheep and goats toll was paid but the amount is not stated. About this period, the price of a horse was 40*s.*; a cow 7*s.* 6*d.*; a calf or pig 3*s.*; and a sheep 1*s.* 6*d.* There was a toll on cloth worth 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* or more. Burgage-holders dwelling within the town were free from toll in accordance with clause 24 of the Charter of 1301. Market day was Saturday.



John la Warre was seriously ill in 1321, as we learn from a petition to the king requesting for delay in doing homage to Edward II. When the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, seized power John la Warre seems to have avoided implication in the proceedings, probably on account of his indisposition. But when Lancaster was defeated at Boroughbridge, and afterwards executed, there was a survey of his lands by royal authority and the Barony of Manchester was naturally included as being held of that Earl, whose possessions now reverted to the crown.

The Extent of 1322 repeats much of the one two years earlier, but supplies also the acreage of land in the various townships of the manor. About Manchester are  $120\frac{1}{2}$  acres  $\frac{1}{2}$  rood of land, three-fourths arable. There are 38 acres of heathland worth 38s.; in Alport 30 acres worth 30s.; in Bradford 70 acres worth 33s. Meadow land comprises 2 acres in Alport and 2 acres in Bradford at 2s. per acre; 96 acres of pasture land are worth £31 11s. 0d., of which 20 acres, worth 13s. 4d., are in Alport and 54 acres at 6d. an acre are in Bradford, where there are also 12 acres that could not be ploughed because they were wooded and worth 4s. The woods at Alport were formerly one mile in circumference and formerly had oaks worth £300, but much of this had been felled and carried away.

Outside the gate of the manor-house was a dwelling worth 12d. This had formerly been a dog-kennel for the chase-loving Grellys. Beyond the stable, also outside the gate, a plot of pasture sloped down to the confluence of the Irk and Irwell, and valued at 3d. in 1320, is now worth 12d. This pasture is now the site of the Palatine buildings and the north end of Victoria Street. The water-driven cornmill on the Irk is now only worth £10; this being £7 6s. 8d. less than in 1282. The common oven had increased in value by 3s. 4d. to 6s. 8d. Both banks of the lower courses of the rivers Irk, Medlock and Gore Brook were within the lord's soil and it was unlawful to fish in these stretches of river without licence. Together they were worth 12d. As only one bank of the Irwell was in the lord's demesne, he had fishing rights only to mid-river and this was worth 2s. There is also an interesting account of the boundaries of the ancient demesne of the manor.

Manchester church was still worth 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) and endowed with the rectory, eight messuages in Manchester



and all the dwellings of Newton and Kirkmanshulme, with meadow, woods, pasture, etc.

By 1340, John la Warre must have recovered his health. for he was in the great sea-fight off Sluys, where Manchester bowmen are said to have taken part in the defeat of the French fleet of 400 sail by Edward III. Six years later, the baron of Manchester distinguished himself at Crécy, where he served in the first division of the forces commanded by the Black Prince. John la Warre died, aged sixty-eight or sixty-nine, in 1347.

Roger, tenth baron, who succeeded his grandfather in 1347, was also a warrior. He distinguished himself at Poitiers and was one of the knights to whom King John of France surrendered in 1356. As a reward, he was allowed to bear on his coat of arms a "crampet", i.e. the transverse guard of the French king's sword. He continued to bear his part in the French wars for some years afterwards.

Henry, grandson of the first earl, had been created Duke of Lancaster by Edward III in 1351, and at the same time the king erected Lancashire into a County Palatine. Henry of Lancaster's statue occupies a niche at the corner of the Town Hall. He is in full armour with his sword and shield as if ready for battle. His ducal helm bears the lion, his crest. Costume and arms are copied from his effigy in the Elsyng brass of the same date. There is another richly painted statue of Henry in the entrance hall.

The new duke was jealous of any infringement upon his influence or power. His attention was particularly directed to limiting the privileges of the court of the baron of Manchester. Certain inhabitants of the town having been fined by the duke's bailiff Roger, who considered this infringed his rights, complained to the duke. As a result an enquiry was held at Preston in 1359 when the jurors decided that "Roger la Warre, knight, does not hold the town of Mamecestre as a borough, nor did his predecessors hold Mamecestre as a borough. But they say that the same Roger and his predecessors from a time to which memory goeth not, held the said town as a market town". Harland comments: "The result was in fact to reduce the Portmote to a mere subsidiary court to the lord's Court-baron; and to set up again the jurisdiction of the wapentake of Salford, and that of the sheriff's tourn within the town of Manchester, in all cases except such as related to the lord and his tenants." It is

difficult to understand why Henry should have been commemorated on the Town Hall when he actually restricted the rights of the townsmen, unless it was because of his reputation as "The Good Duke of Lancaster".

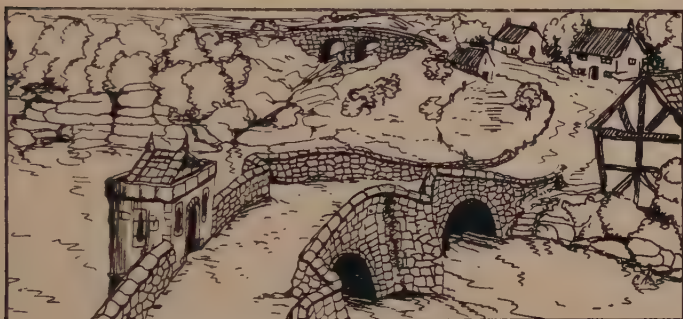
In 1360 Roger was taken prisoner but he must soon have been released or exchanged for a French prisoner of equal rank, for in 1362 he was summoned to Parliament. Two years later he was again serving in France. Again, in 1368, Roger la Warre was sent to Calais and in the next year accompanied John of Gaunt to Aquitaine. Roger died in 1370, leaving two sons and a daughter.

The fourth mural painting depicts a visit, in 1363, of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, to Flemish weavers settled in Manchester. In Princess Street, over the Mayor's private entrance to the Town Hall, there is a statue of Edward III. This is a tribute to his supposed introduction of Flemish weavers into the town. He is in full armour, bearing on his shield and surcoat the arms of France quartered with those of England. It is certain that there was a woollen industry in the town long before this date, for as stated earlier, there was a fulling mill on the Irk in 1282 and a dyer in Ancoats in 1295. Whatever impulse the Flemings may have given to manufacture seems to have died out after the Black Death. In 1366, the sheriff of Lancaster, being required to make a return of places in the county which could send representatives to Parliament, reported that none could undertake it "by reason of their inability, low condition or poverty."

Concrete evidence of the recovery of the twin towns, two years later, was the erection of the first stone bridge over the Irwell. When this stone bridge replaced the former wooden one is not known. The stone bridge is first mentioned in the will of Thomas del Bothe of Barton, 1368, who left £30 for the erection of a chantry chapel on it. As he directed the legacy to be paid in three yearly instalments, it is conjectured that the bridge was being built at this time. This opinion is supported by the style of the bridge which experts assign to the middle of the fourteenth century. There is a bridge of similar design still remaining at Peel Hall, Wythenshawe, but without the chapel.

The old bridge over the Irwell was one of three arches and only wide enough for the passage of one cart or horseman at

a time. Angular recesses were provided in the side walls for the safety of foot passengers. At the northern side, upon the more westerly pier, a two-storeyed chapel was built. Its lower storey rested upon the pier head while the upper storey was level with the roadway, thus resembling the chapel on old London Bridge. In those days of dangerous journeys, the chapel was used by travellers on their way out to offer up a prayer for safety. At the successful end of a journey, they paused to give thanks for a task completed and a safe return.



MANCHESTER'S FIRST STONE BRIDGE  
Across the Irwell, on the site of Victoria Bridge

John la Warre, eleventh baron of Manchester, served under the Black Prince in Gascony both before and after his father's death. At the coronation of Richard II, John la Warre was in attendance upon his friend and overlord, John of Gaunt, the protector of Wyclif. John la Warre's uncle, Sir Louis Clifford, had been trustee of the estates of the barony and the advowson of the churches while his nephew had been absent on military service in France. Thomas Latimer, John's cousin, was also favourable to Wyclif. As his three friends were followers of the reformer, it has been surmised that the Baron of Manchester was also favourable to the "Morning Star of the Reformation". This slight connection may be the reason that the trial of Wyclif, 1377, was chosen for the fifth mural painting. John le Warre died, unmarried, in 1398.

## 9. Priest and Lord of Manchester

1397-1427

AT this time Deansgate ended at a valley nearly forty yards wide and nearly as many feet deep, down which ran an ample stream. Its great depth gave rise to the name "Hangan or Hollow" Ditch. The name also occurred on the other side of the Irwell where there was a "Hangan, alias Hollow, Meadow".



HANGING BRIDGE

Portion of west side, Cateaton Street end

From the watercourse the name was transferred to the bridge which was originally Hanging Ditch Bridge, but the middle word soon dropped out. The bridge still remains in its original position and the narrow street bearing that name, leading from



Cateaton Street to the cathedral, is actually over the top of the bridge.

Built of red sandstone from the nearby Collyhurst quarries, the present bridge consists of two arches. Each arch has a span of 21' at the base, from which the height to the apex is 9' 3" and the width through the arch about 10'. At the north-west end, there is exposed now the top of a massive buttress of large uneven blocks in irregular courses, roughly dressed, probably with axe or pick. This suggests that the buttress is much earlier than the present bridge and may be a portion of a previous stone bridge or the pillar supporting the end of an even earlier wooden bridge.



HANGING BRIDGE

The present bridge was built early in the fifteenth century, possibly for the easier transport of materials for rebuilding the church at the time it was collegiated and for enlarging the Manor House into "The College" as a residence of the clergy.

Its appearance leaves little doubt that it is the work of the same period as the ancient parish church (now the cathedral) the early part of the fifteenth century. The characteristics of the bridge are well dressed masonry, close fitting joints and pointed



arches. It was, in fact, a miniature of the one which crossed the Irwell.

In the *Rental* of 1473, Nicholas Raval, chaplain, paid 12*d.* for one burgage lying near the Hanging Bridge on the east side.

We may discount altogether Whitaker's fantastic idea of an early drawbridge as well as the equally unsupported fiction that the name has anything to do with hanging criminals.

Buildings from Victoria Street to Cathedral Street, including Mynshull House, now stand on the original line of the Ditch. When the hollow was filled up is unknown; but the structure disappeared and only the street name remained until 1880, when the buildings on the north-east side were demolished, revealing one arch. Two years later the second arch was uncovered. In 1890, prior to the erection of the present Mynshull House, the south end of the west face of the bridge was revealed and one may still stand under this arch in the lower cellar of that building, by kind permission of J. E. Stretch Ltd. The west side of the other arch was uncovered when the Tower Hotel was pulled down in 1900 but the present Garden of Rest was not made and the tablet erected until 1953.

During excavations in 1881, it was found that a small stream 18" wide and 7" deep, still flowed under the northern arch, the upper half of which is now visible in the garden of rest near the cathedral. In or near the bed of this stream were found several ancient relics, probably dropped from the Hanging Bridge. The first of these was a leaden seal of the Duchy of Lancaster belonging to the commencement of the fifteenth century. A piece of lead  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long by  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " broad with a handle  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length had on one side an ancient alphabet in relief, and on the other a cross. Chambers in his *Book of Days* says that such plates were used for the instruction of the young. The character of the letters appeared to be about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

On the death of his brother, Thomas la Warre, who was at that time rector of the parish church, became twelfth Lord of Manchester. His uncle had appointed him rector of Ashton-under-Lyne in 1371 but he resigned that living two years later. According to the Lichfield Register he became Rector of Manchester in March 13, 1381-2. His statue on the façade of the Town Hall, at the Princess Street end of Albert Square, is

sculptured in the habit of a rector taken from contemporary documents. He holds with both hands a model of the church he founded.

On April 1, 1403, the king requested a loan of 500 marks from Le Sire de la Warre, to enable him to resist the Welsh and Scots.

The statement that after his brother's death, Thomas la Warre obtained a dispensation from the Pope to marry upon the condition that he should found a College in the same place where he had been a Parson is obviously inaccurate. The papal dispensations relating to English persons have been calendered and there is no dispensation for Thomas la Warre's marriage. No marriage took place, and that being the case there was no need for la Warre to pay the price presumed to have been exacted by the Pope for allowing him, a priest, to marry. If Thomas ever intended to marry it would be presumed for the purpose of having an heir, and in that case the desire would have come to him as soon as he inherited the title in 1398, and he would have erected his College and got married promptly. Yet he had been Lord la Warre for nearly a quarter of a century before he founded the College. The whole story that the foundation was a compulsory one, and not of his own free will, falls to the ground. (Axon.)

This fiction appears to have originated in the seventeenth century in Fuller's *Worthies* and at the same time he gave rise to another error by naming Thomas West for Thomas la Warre.

Contradictory opinions are expressed about the influence of Wyclif's teaching on the decision of Thomas la Warre to collegiate the parish church. "It may be reasonably inferred that the principal reason for altering the constitution of the church was a desire to arrest the propagation of Lollard doctrines and the encroachments attempted to be made by an innovating and unscrupulous House of Commons." On the other hand it is suggested that the influence of his uncle and cousin, who were both imbued with Wyclif's teaching, was the great motive of Thomas for founding a Collegiate Church.

At this time, the parish of Manchester was of great extent, being from seven to nine miles from east to west and from eight and a half to nine miles from north to south. Like many other parishes, it had suffered from absentee rectors who used the endowments for their support whilst engaged in secular pursuits. This state of affairs seemed inevitable when the gentry were so much engaged in the diversions of the battleground and hunting fields, and educated men to carry on the government

of the country could only be obtained from the Church. This absenteeism was one of the reasons why Thomas la Warre sought to found a College of Clergy in Manchester.



In the preamble to the royal licence, 1421, the church of Manchester was described as possessing not only a wide and extensive parish but also one which was very populous. Hibbert-Ware gives several reasons for this increase in the number and wealth of the parishioners. Owing to their services in the wars, many agricultural labourers had been advanced to the rank of yeomen. Further, the new craze for estimating feudal influence by the number of retainers added to their numbers. Moreover, a new character had been given to the population of Manchester by the growth of trade, which enriched many artisans so that they were enabled to purchase lands and thus qualify



themselves as yeomen. These wealthy yeomen espoused the cause of literature and learning.

Owing to the Statute of Mortmain, which restricted the alienation of lands to the Church, the king's licence was necessary to secure Collegiation. For this licence la Warre paid 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). In securing this he had the valuable aid of Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham, who had been Chancellor of England, and also the newly appointed and enlightened Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in which diocese the parish of Manchester then was. In addition to permission from the various ecclesiastical bodies, the consent of the parishioners had to be obtained.

The churchwardens, Laurence Hulme and Henry Bukleye, together with the chief parishioners, assembled in the parish church at the sound of the bell. They unanimously agreed upon a petition to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, expressing on behalf of themselves and their fellow parishioners their free approbation and assent to the erection of the parish church into a Collegiate Church and to the foundation of a College in and belonging to the same. Legal formalities dragged on until 1423.

Meanwhile Thomas la Warre had increased the endowment. To the lands off Deansgate and in Kirkmanshulme, with the tithes of the whole parish, he added a levy of 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.) on the family estates together with 5 messuages and 10 acres of land in and near Manchester. These lands included 1 acre 34 poles on which stood the manor-house, with additional 10 poles between the Bull Oak and the porch of the church. The boundaries of the College and its yard, given in the grant, commenced at Mill Brow on the Irk, passed southward down Long Millgate to a narrow lane called a Vennel (Fennel Street), thence westwards to the Bull Oak, northwards along the ancient Hunt's Bank (now lower end of Victoria Street) to the confluence of the Irk and Irwell and thence, up midstream, back to Mill Brow. It is probable also that the lordship and manor of Newton were added to the endowment about 1426.

As a new residence for the clergy, consisting of a Warden and eight fellow-chaplains (Fellows), Thomas la Warre granted the ancient manor house, henceforth known as "The College". Taylor's *Old Halls in Lancashire* gives an account of the architecture of the building.



COLLEGE OF CLERGY



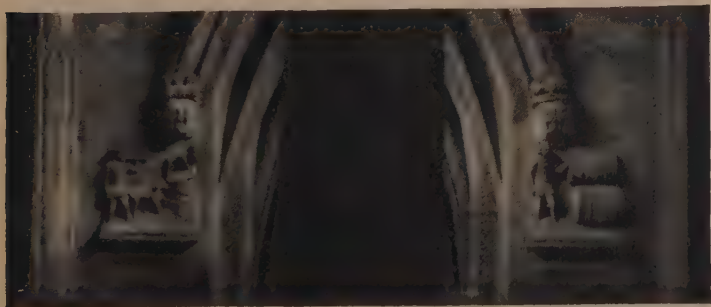


REBUS OF JOHN HUNTINGTON, CARVED IN WOOD  
Above the chancel arch

Here are shown the original carvings, described by Hollingworth.

His Rebus or name—devyse is to bee seene on either syde of the Middle arch, as it looketh Eastward: on the syde is an Huntsman with dogges whereby hee thought to expresse the two former sillables of his name; Hunting; on the other syde, a vessell called a Tonne, which being joined together makes Huntington.

Between 1872 and 1884, Dean Cowie ordered the sculptures shown below; a poor and spiritless copy of the originals; to be carved in stone.



REBUS OF JOHN HUNTINGTON IN STONE  
On the Gothic arch of the Lady Chapel

John Huntington, Rector of Ashton-under-Lyne; nominated by Thomas la Warre as First Warden of Manchester in 1422; continued in that office for just thirty-six years. He was a man of much energy and sterling character, and in every respect well fitted for the post he occupied. The frequency with which his name appears on deeds of local importance indicates that he had secured the confidence of the gentry of the neighbourhood.

Influenced by the tradition recorded by Hollingworth that the previous church had been a large black-and-white wooden building, not unlike the Boothes, it is often assumed that no church constructed of stone existed on the present site previous to the Collegiation. Crowther says:

The fact is, that on Warden Huntington's appointment, there was a large and stately church of the same length as the existing building, already in existence, and his first efforts were directed to render this structure more worthy of its higher status as a Collegiate Church. The first and most obvious step was the rebuilding of the Curvilinear Decorated choir which, however excellent its architecture may have been—and the remains indicate that it must have been a structure of considerable beauty—was yet massive and narrow and widely different in style from the light architectural proportions which were prevalent in Huntington's time.

This earlier church was probably commenced by Robert Grelly, fifth baron, the nave of which remained until rebuilt by Warden Langley.

Huntington "built the choir, with the aisles on both sides, being in length 30 yards and in breadth 20 yards, from the two great pinnacles where the organ stood betwixt, to the east end of the church". He died in Manchester on November 11, 1458, and was buried in a vault prepared by himself at the east end of the choir. His brass is now in the chancel of the present cathedral.

Thomas la Warre had a deed drawn up, vesting his remaining estates in trust for himself during the remainder of his life and afterwards in favour of his half-sister Joan and her issue by Thomas West.

Thomas la Warre died in 1427 and was buried in the abbey of Swineshead. With him ended the feudal splendour of the Barons of Manchester, who for so long had exercised a semi-regal power in this district.

## 10. *Later Barons of Manchester*

1428-1485

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NEITHER the Thomas West who had married Joan la Warre nor his eldest son of the same name enjoyed the Barony of Manchester, as Thomas la Warre survived them both. Reginald, the second son, became the thirteenth lord of Manchester and, on January 5, 1428, appointed three attorneys "to receive seisin for him of and in the Manor of Manchester, with all and singular appurtenances". When he died in 1451, he was succeeded by his son Sir Richard, aged 19. An active partisan of the House of Lancaster, Richard West was rewarded with a grant of £40 a year for life, payable out of the forfeited possessions of Richard, Duke of York, who was killed at Wakefield. Richard West was in the Tower of London when it was besieged by the Yorkists. After the White Rose came to power, Edward IV granted him leave to go beyond the seas with twelve servants and as many horses, not exceeding 40s. each, and there to continue.

John Booth, the Warden of Manchester, having supported the House of Lancaster, was deprived of his office. He was succeeded by Ralph Langley, rector of Prestwich, who was appointed Warden by Edward IV in 1465. During the restoration of the cathedral after the "blitz" of 1940, a wood-cut believed to be of Warden Langley, was found.

Shortly after becoming Warden, Langley:

took down the nave and aisles of the Early English Church and rebuilt them in a style worthy of and harmonizing with, Warden Huntington's choir, and characterized by the same lightness and delicacy of design. Langley utilised the materials of the Early English nave in his work, which extended from the eastern face of the tower to the winding staircases, or great pinnacles, at the west end of the choir and his nave appears to have been built mainly on the lines of its Early English predecessors. . . . Langley's pier arches were of the greatest beauty . . . and it would be difficult to find any examples of columns and arches in the kingdom, or elsewhere, of purer section or finer proportions than these lovely creations of Langley's genius. (Crowther.)

Langley's main roof beams ended in fourteen angels, each playing a musical instrument. There were seven wind instruments on the north side and seven stringed ones on the south. The carved figures averaged 2 ft. 10 in. in length and the total measurement, including wings and instruments, ranging from 4 ft. to 5 ft. 1 in. All the musical instruments are different except that there are two variations of the bagpipes. A special value attaches to these sculptures because of the light which they throw upon the actual forms of early instruments, many of which are now obsolete, as well as upon the mode in which they were played.



#### LANGLEY'S SLENDER PILLARS

This very unusual photograph shows the beauty of these columns and No. 6 of the minstrel angels playing a trumpet

According to the MS. List of Wardens in the College of Arms, "he made the clocke and chimes in Manchester Church with his owne handes"; from which it appears that Langley's mechanical skill had been equal to his architectural ability.



In the lifetime of Thomas West, fifteenth Baron of Manchester, who succeeded his father at a date not definitely settled, a complete *Rental of the Manor of Manchester* was made in 1473 (May 1. 13 Edward IV). In an effort to solve the difficulties relating to the age and the two marriages of Thomas West, Harland suggests that the *Rental* should be dated 23 Edward IV, which by a curious oversight he dates in brackets (1507-8) whereas the Yorkist King died in 1483.

From this *Rental* we learn the names of many of the holders of the burgages in the Township and, at the rent of 12*d.*, their number is still about 150. The wife of Thurston Chaloner is tenant of the common oven, for which she pays 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is the same as 150 years earlier. John Foxe seems to have made a bad bargain in renting for four years the tolls of the market for £20, when he only received £3 6*s.* 8*d.* annually. Richard Hill paid £6 for the corn mill, which formerly had been worth £10. The fulling mill had increased from 8*s.* 4*d.* to £2, showing that the woollen industry had grown considerably. Five chaplains are named though none of the Fellows is recorded as such, but they may be included among the former. For the first time there is mention of a shop in the Market Place for which John Kaye paid 12*d.* John Trafford, knight, paid for "one parcel of waste land lying in Manchester, near the Boothes, upon which parcel of land one shop was lately built . . . 6*d.*". Whether this was the shop rented by Kaye is not stated.

On the left-hand side of the Market Place stood Manchester's first Town Hall, originally known as the Boothes, the first mention of which occurs in this *Rental* of 1473. It was a considerable building of wood and plaster, supported on wooden pillars, very similar to the market halls of Ledbury, Leominster, and Much Wenlock. The lower portion was open to the street, and beneath it stalls were erected for use on market days. A doorway on the south side led to a large upper room, where the Court Leet met, and so the building was often referred to as the Court House.

This large upper chamber was called the Long Room, the illustration of which is from Casson and Berry's map of 1645.

The view represents a long low chamber, with a gabled roof, the right hand half of which is lit by skylights. At the further end, right in the centre of the pointed gable stands a handsome grandfather clock together with a large globe, perched on a low





LONG ROOM

table. Flanking the globe on each side hangs a large map. Similar cartological embellishments adorn the sides of the room, with the exception of one section which is occupied by a small library of large volumes. Solemnly contemplating the bookshelves stands a much bewigged frock coated personage, posed in a graceful attitude which reveals the graceful contours of his nether limbs. Half a dozen similarly attired gentlemen sit or stand about the room which, though carpetless, is well furnished with a large oval table and sundry comfortable-looking high-backed chairs. (Rowbotham.)

It should be noticed that this description and illustration relate to the Long Room as it appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century.

On the map, beneath the engraving is the following inscription:

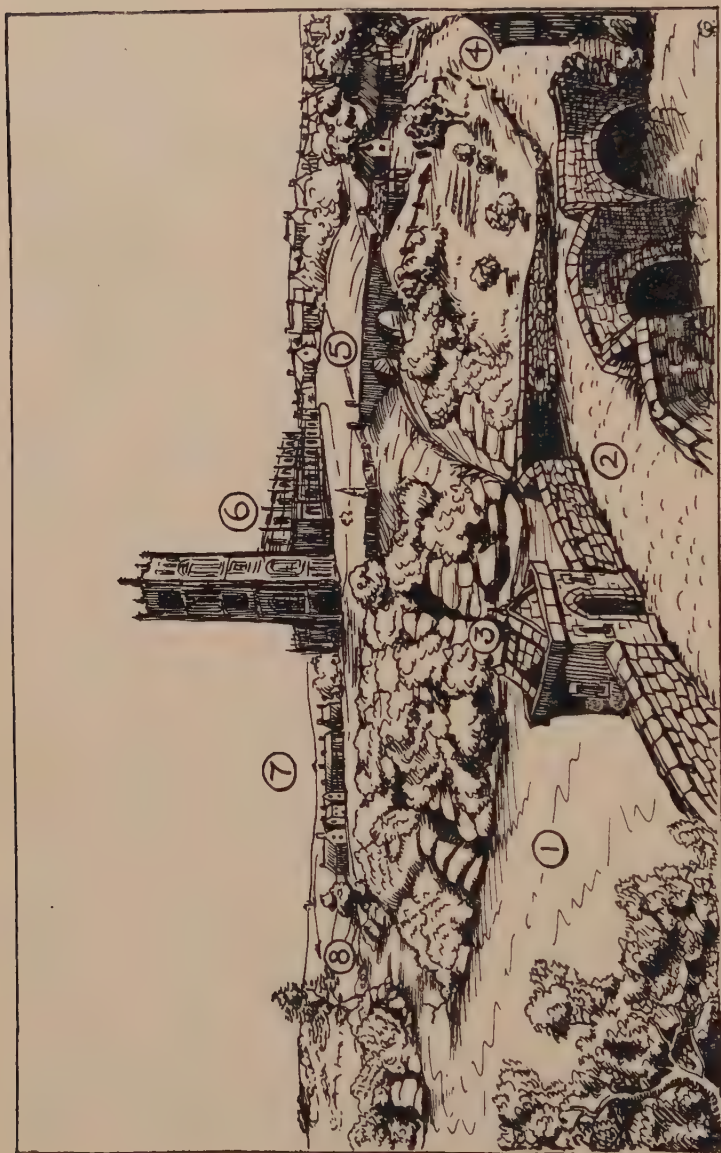
This room (furnished with ye best maps, Plans, Terrestrial Globe &c. The greatest variety of Newspapers, Political and entertaining Pamphlets, Exports and Imports of ye most noted ports in England with several other books etc, not only entertaining but useful in Trade and Navigation) is frequented by Gentlemen and Tradesmen in Town and universally approved. Subscribers pay 1s. 6d. each quarter. Strangers and others pay one penny in ye Box each time they come.

Apparently the building had been sub-let, for in 1558 there is a reference to the "Toll-booth" and the "Toll and Stallages" as part of the estate of Richard Hunt. In 1620,

The Jury do order that John Hunte, gent or his under-tenant shall repair the Court House, commonly called the Bothes and shall weekly sweep and keep clean the same sub pena to the said John Hunte or his farmer £3 6s. 8d. and sub pena to every tenant using or occupying any stall in the said Bothes for every week being unswept and not made clean . . . 6d.

There are repeated complaints in the Court Leet Records that the building was in need of repair. Apparently by 1740 the upper portion had become unusable, for the Court Leet adjoined to the Coffee House and then continued to meet either in the Exchange (built in 1729) or in various hostelries until November 2, 1795, on which date the meetings were transferred to the Court House in Fountain Street. When the building called the Bothes was demolished is unknown, but it may have lingered on until the first period of street improvement in 1776.

After Edward IV's invasion of France and disgraceful peace



MANCHESTER IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1. The Irwell. A wide, clear, slow-flowing stream well-stocked with fish.
2. Manchester's first stone bridge built about 1368. Victoria bridge now stands on its site.
3. The chapel on one of the piers for which Thomas del Bothe left £30. It was pulled down when the bridge was widened in 1776.
4. Smithy Bank, or Old Bridge Street, which led steeply down to the bridge.
5. Hanging Bridge over the Hangan (Hollow) Ditch. Probably built about 1422, when the parish church was collegiate. Half of one arch is visible in the Garden of Rest and one may stand under the other in the lower cellar of Mynshull House.
6. The old parish church, now the cathedral. In those days there was no road between the churchyard and the river but a footpath led across the Irk.
7. The home of the Lords of the Manor until the last of the la Warres. In 1422, it was enlarged to house the "College of Clergy", when the church was collegiate. In the reign of Edward IV it was granted

to the Earl of Derby. During the Commonwealth it was seized on behalf of Parliament. At the Restoration it was returned to the Earl of Derby and was sold to the trustees of Humphrey Chetham in 1654. Two years later the first boys of Chetham's Hospital moved in. It is still in existence as Chetham's and Nicholl's Grammar School.

8. River Irk, whose bounding stream laid the foundations of Manchester's development. On its banks were the corn mills, the fulling mill and, later, the tanyards. At this time it was well stocked with fish and became famous for the quality of its eels. The Dean still retains the fishing rights.

From Scotland Bridge or from the steps on the right-hand side of the bridge to Cheetham Hill Road, may be seen where the Irk goes underground. From the back way to Exchange Station, turning to face Palatine Buildings, may be seen the culvert from which the Irk emerges to join the Irwell.



with Louis XI in 1475, Thomas West, fifteenth Baron of Manchester, joined Henry Tudor.

The first appearance of the modern spelling *Manchester* is in the Lancashire Final Concords, 1780.

In the will of George Manchester, 1483, the date is given in a peculiar form: "the first year of the reign of King Richard the Third, after the conquest when he raised his realm against the Duke of Buckingham". A number of localities, which can easily be identified are mentioned and there are some peculiar spellings such as brege (bridge), garthyn (garden), longs (belongs), wedit (wedded), spendit (spent).

Among the characters in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (Act iv, scene v) appears Sir Christopher Urswick, who added to his many pluralities that of Fellow of the Collegiate Church. He became chaplain to Henry VII and was much engaged in State affairs.



## *11. The Early Tudors: I*

1485-1547

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THE accession of the House of Tudor made little difference to Manchester. Her lord was constantly away from the town on the service of the king. Thomas West, fifteenth Baron, was in high favour with Henry VII, whom he had helped to secure the throne. The new king rewarded him with a large grant in Sussex from the lands of the attained Duke of Norfolk, who was slain at Bosworth. This tended to weaken the interest of the Barons la Warre in their northern manor. In 1490 Thomas was made K.B., at the same time that Arthur was created Prince of Wales, and two years later became one of the chief commanders of the army sent to Flanders. Five years later, he held a similar position in the royal troops at Blackheath, where the Cornish rebels, who resisted the tax for the Scottish war, were defeated.

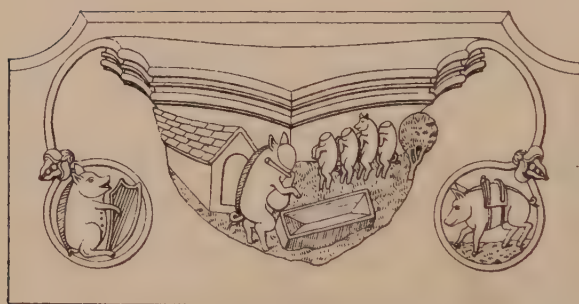
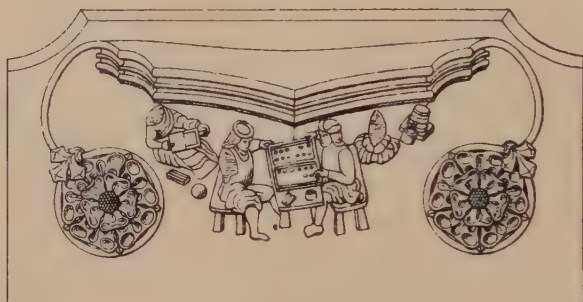
Henry VII's mother, the Countess of Richmond, had married the Earl of Derby and the king passed through Manchester on his return from a visit to Lathom House. At this time the Warden of the Collegiate Church was James Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby by his first marriage to a sister of Warwick, "The King Maker". The Warden brought over the most highly skilled wood carvers from Flanders, lodged them in Long Millgate, and created the exquisite carved stalls, on the south side of the choir of the Collegiate Church, which are amongst the finest woodwork in Europe. On the north side, the stalls were erected by Richard Bexwicke, the younger.

Carvings under the seats in the chancel include such weird representations as: a wife chasing her husband, who has dropped his pot of ale; two men playing backgammon; rabbits roasting a bound huntsman; monkeys rifling a peddler's pack; a sow piping to her dancing litter, etc.



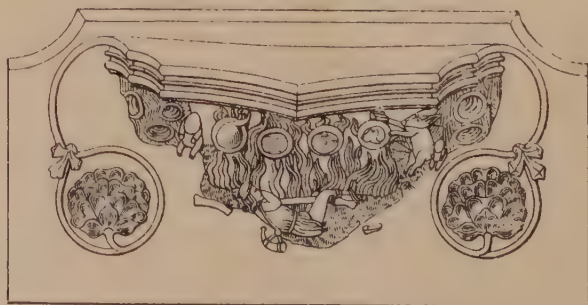
Eagle and  
Child  
Legend

Playing  
Backgammon



Sow piping  
to her litter

Rabbits'  
revenge  
on man



# WEIRD CARVINGS UNDER CHANCEL SEATS

Originally the authority for the identification of the donors . . . rested upon the brief and unsupported statement contained in a biographical note upon Bishop Stanley, which is to be found in a manuscript *History of the Wardens*, dated from the beginning of the seventeenth century, now in the College of Arms, London. This account sets forth that Warden Stanley built the south side of the "wood worke in the Quire; ye seates for ye Warden, Fellowes, and Churchmen, beinge XXX seates on both sydes, and Mr Richard Bexwicke that built Jesus Chappell builded th'other syde". This was confirmed in 1520, by a case before the Duchy of Lancaster brought by the Warden, George West, against the Abbott of Whalley. "The said Richard Beswicke was an especial benefactor of the Colleage, having given a suite of vestments, price £45 and more, and having built at his own charge a chapel and one side of the 'Queer' of the said Colleage Church, which cost him 300 or 400 marks or more, besides other good deeds." (Hudson.)



CARVED CHOIR STALLS

When the new king, Henry VIII, came to the throne it had little effect on the township, as her lord continued absent in the service of the monarch. He was present at Tourenne and Tournay and took part in the "Battle of the Spurs". When the

king's younger sister, Mary, married Louis XII of France in 1514, Thomas conducted her to that country, having in his retinue 30 horsemen, and received two marks (26s. 8d.) a day from the king towards his expenses. What it cost Manchester, six years later, towards his expenses at the Field of the Cloth of Gold is not recorded. In 1521 Thomas signed the Remonstrance sent to Pope Clement VII protesting against the delay in granting the king's divorce. Next year, Thomas conducted the Emperor Charles V from Gravelines to England.

By an indenture dated August 20, 1515, Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, arranged for the foundation of the Free Grammar School at Manchester. Crumpsall, where stood an ancient house called "Oldham's Tenement", seems to have the best claim to be considered his birthplace, though it is also asserted that he was born in Oldham. The site of the school, adjoining the College on the west, and the Irk on the north, cost £5, and the one-storeyed stone building erected thereon lasted until 1776. For the maintenance of the school the leases of the water-driven corn mill and the fulling or "Walke" mill on the Irk were purchased. At this corn mill alone the inhabitants of Manchester were bound to grind their grain and malt, and in later times this became a grievance so that, in 1758, Parliament granted a relief so far as corn was concerned. Two poor scholars were to be chosen by the high master to keep the register and to clean the school once a week, receiving in payment the penny paid as entrance fee by each of the scholars.

It is interesting to note the prices which ruled in 1524, when a labourer's wages were 3d. a day: wheat 11s. 3d. per quarter; ale 2d. a gallon; a horse £2 4s. 0d.; an ox £1 15s. 0d.; a cow 15s. 6d.; a sheep or pig 5s.; a cock 3d.; a hen 2d.

Although Warden Collier did not acknowledge the king's supremacy, he was left in undisputed possession of the Collegiate Church. The little procession of six singing boys, four clerks, eight fellows, and the Warden peacefully wended its way from the College across the churchyard to the Collegiate Church for the regular services enjoined in the bequest of their founder. Manchester was too remote to feel the full effects of the Reformation, though later in the reign the performance of "Robin Hood" inside the church was banished to the churchyard, while vigils, wakes and sports were banned. On the dissolution of the larger monasteries, Thomas West, sixteenth





*Copied by R. H. Fletcher from a sketch by Thomas Barritt (1743-1820)*

HUGH OLDHAM'S FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL



Baron of Manchester, obtained a grant of monastic lands in Hampshire.

Manchester's first public water supply was in existence as early as the reign of Henry VIII, for the Court Leet Records refer to its locking and unlocking "according to the ancient order made in Anno Dm, 1536". This conduit, as it was called, was situated in the Market Place, near the lower end of Market Street. Water from a particularly pure spring, near the top of what is now King Street, was brought down to it through wooden water pipes, made from elm trees. A section of one of these is preserved in the Board Room of the Guardian Society for the Protection of Trade. This spring gave the names to Spring Gardens and Fountain Street. The Conduit was evidently a building of some architectural worth, for it is referred to as "a special ornament to the town, that divers times lacks water". In Elizabeth's reign it is recorded that "the Conduit, an Ornament of the Town, is greatly decayed" and orders for its repair were issued. Cecilia Fiennes, after her visit, described it as "the ornamental conduit".

It was probably erected by the Bexwicke family and Hollingworth records that "Isabel Beck did build the Conduit in Manchester". She was the widow of Thomas Beck and daughter and heiress of Richard Bexwicke. In spite of the fact that the rents of several properties were left by various townspeople for the upkeep of the conduit and its repair, it fell into ruin and, as recorded in the Court Leet Records, was finally destroyed by Sir Oswald Mosley when he built the first Exchange in 1729. Eight years later, the Court Leet claimed £16 3s. 4½d. from the lord of the manor, as the value of the lead from the Conduit. A large stone trough placed on the east side of this Exchange is sometimes referred to as the New Conduit. No picture of the Conduit is known. That in Darbyshire's *Book of Old Manchester* is of Nathan Crompton's Folly, an obelisk later erected on the site of the first Exchange and the description of it as the Conduit is erroneous.

From the account of a visit by John Leland, the antiquary, we get a description of Manchester at this time:

Manchester on the south side of the Irwell is the fairest, best builded quickest (most lively or busiest) and most populous town in all Lancashire, yet in it but one parish church almost throughout doubt aisled, flagged with very hard square stones. A thing

not comon in these days, the floors of churches being generally of earth with rushes annually strewed upon the floor to keep the feet of the congregation warm and dry. There be divers stone bridges in the town but the best of three arches is over the Irwell. On the bridge is a pretty little chapel. The next is the bridge that is over the Irk river, on which the fair built College stands as in the very point of the mouth of it. For hard thereby it runs into the Irwell. On the Irk river be divers fair mills that serve the town. In the town be two fairs market places; and almost two arrow shots without the town may yet be seen the dikes and foundations of Old Man Castle, in a ground now enclosed. The stones of the ruins of the castle were translated towards making of bridges for the town of Manchester stands on a hard rock of stone. Irwell is not navigable, but in some places, for wadis (i.e., dry patches) and rocks.

Most of the monastic lands were distributed among the king's greedy courtiers, but six new bishoprics were founded. One of these was that of Chester, in 1541. To the new diocese the parish of Manchester was transferred from Lichfield. The dissolution of the monasteries made a revision of the right of sanctuary absolutely necessary. Being on the border of the more inhabited part of England and at the gate of the little-frequented wilderness of the north, Manchester was one of the places selected.

In 1542, the privilege of sanctuary was removed to Chester because it interfered with the growing manufacture of the town. From this Act of Parliament we learn that Manchester was an unwallled town, governed by the steward under the lord of the manor, and without prison house or jail. The town is described as well inhabited and employed in making linen and woollen cloths whereby not only have many come into riches and wealthy living but they have kept and set many artificers and poor folks to work within the said town. By reason of the straight and true dealing of the inhabitants, yarn merchants from Ireland and other places were willing to supply yarns on credit until the cloth was made. It was customary to lay the linen yarn in the fields to bleach by day and night for six months, and to hang out the woollen cloth on tenters (frames) to dry before it could be made up. Therefore it was necessary that only honest, just, true and creditable persons should dwell in the town. The presence of rogues seeking sanctuary, who often stole the yarn or cloth or broke into the mills, made the removal of the privilege of prime importance.

## 12. *The Early Tudors: II*

1547-1558

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IT is difficult for us to realize that until this time there was only one religious denomination in England and only one parish church in Manchester. But the accession of Edward VI saw the end of undivided loyalty to the Old Church and gave place to the religious animosity which henceforth divided the town. The College of Clergy was dissolved, Warden Collier was deprived, and the church reduced to a vicarage. At the same time the College House, which for over a century had served as a residence for the clergy, was granted to Edward, third Earl of Derby. At the same time the little chantry chapel on the Old Bridge over the Irwell was closed.

The town steadily advanced in prosperity, and its trade and commerce extended considerably. From an "Act for the Making of Woollen Cloth" we learn that "all and everie cottones called Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire cottones" shall be: each piece 22 yards long, 27 inches wide, and weigh 30 lb., while rugs and friezes should be the same size and weigh 48 lb. Though described as "cottons" there is little doubt that these were a coarse kind of woollens.

Manchester had been governed by a Court Leet for many generations but the written records of its meetings are preserved only from October 4, 1552. This volume is referred to in the list of writings in the Boroughreeve's Chest, made October 24, 1638, as "An ould Courte booke beeginnge the fourth Day of October in the Sixth yeare of King Edward Sixth, and Continue vntill the Court Leete houlden at Manchester the 30th Day of September, in the Twenty Sixth yeare of the Raigne of Quene Elizabeth; Anoq. Dm. 1584 and containinge folio 131". The entry is of interest as showing that as early as 1638 no earlier volumes or rolls were then in possession of the Boroughreeve.

Names of

¶ Curia cum vasa frane p[re]sentem t[er]m[inu]m Decimo  
primo die mensis Decembris Anno Regis Henrici octavi  
et marie de gratia Regis et Regine Anglie  
fuerunt n[ost]re p[re]sentatione p[re]sentia, p[re]sentes  
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Quaint picturesque and romantic in witness and word they stimulate the imagination. The Court Leet Records of Manchester may be described as the repositories of historically trustworthy and strictly relevant information upon the administration of the public concerns of the town. From these records much which is instructive and important may be gathered as to the social life of the town. (Loudon.)

The Court Leet exercised its authority in the following directions.

It saw to all sanitary matters connected with the welfare of the town generally, and it prohibited all nuisances of a public and private character. All middens and dunghills were required to be fenced in, all privies were to be kept as clean as possible and the watercourses were to be left free and open. Swine were not permitted to go loose in the streets, and horses were not to be foddered there. Various regulations for the inhabitants of the town (some of which read very quaintly to us at the present time) were ordered and enforced. The provision of various Acts of Parliament such as those dealing with gaming, &c., in public houses with the wearing of caps in the streets, with the practice of archery, &c., were duly seen to, and disputes between tenants were settled. Care was also taken to prevent idle and dissolute persons settling in the town or being taken as "inmates" or lodgers. The general well-being and cleanliness of the town were seen to by the appointment, at every Michaelmas Court, of a large number of officers, whose duties are shown by the titles they bore. The full title of the Court was "The Court Leet, with View of Frankpledge of the Manor of Manchester", and the latter part of the title demands a little consideration. The View of Frankpledge was an ancient custom, by which every free-born male, of the age of 14, was required to give security that he would be true to his Sovereign and the latter's subjects, and it was required of him that his neighbours should become bound for him to see that he was forthcoming at all times, and to answer for him if he absented himself. And if anyone offended it was forthwith inquired in what pledge he was, and then those of the pledge either produced the offender within 31 days or satisfied for his offence. (Earwaker.)

The Court Leet of the Manor of Manchester was held twice in every year, within a month of Easter and Michaelmas. The Leet was presided over by the steward of the lord of the manor and before jurors appointed by the steward and duly sworn, the jurors of the Michaelmas Leet "Nominating, electing, and appointing Officers responsible for the Government of the Town for the ensuing year or until they shall be Legally Discharged" (Loudon.)



The Offices filled and the Duties attached thereto were :

**JURORS.** To appoint officers and to try offenders.

**BOROUGHREEVE.** The chief officer of the town. The equivalent in feudal status of the Mayor of later times.

**CONSTABLES (two).** Responsible for peace and good order as stated at length in the oath they were each required to take.

**MISELAYERS (two).** Assessors of the various rates, or mises to be levied.

**MISE GATHERERS (two).** Collectors, in person or by deputy.

**MARKETLOOKERS** for fish and flesh. To detect unsound food.

**MARKETLOOKERS** for corn, weights and measures. To detect unwholesome corn or adulterated with other cereals, also to report unjust balances, measures and yardsticks.

**APPRAISERS** of goods. Valuers of goods offered for sale.

**SEARCHERS AND SEALERS** of leather. To see that the skins were properly dressed and duly stamped; otherwise their sale was illegal.

**MARKETLOOKERS** for white meats. To detect unwholesome butter, eggs, fowls, etc.

**MARKETLOOKERS** for the assize of bread. To check the quality, weight and size of bread and to prevent the making of spiced bread or the putting of suet or butter into cakes.

**BYLAWMEN.** To see that the by-laws of the town were enforced. Two were appointed for each area.

**ALE CONNERS (tasters).** To see that ale and beer were of proper quality, sold at the prices fixed by Act of Parliament, and that sealed or stamped measures were used.

**SCAVENGERS.** To see to the sanitary condition of the town. Two or three were appointed to each area. The office of scavenger did not require personal performance of the duties but to see the dwellers in their area kept the streets clean and in repair and that the watercourses were not obstructed.

**DOG MUZZLERS.** To see that mastiff dogs were tied up or muzzled and kept on their owner's premises.

**PREVENTORS OF INMATES.** To exclude or eject undesirable strangers from the houses of the town.

**PREVENTORS OF :**

- (1) **Ingrossing.** The buying up of foodstuffs for resale in the town.

for the Office of Burroughsreeve	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Rindings . . .	Sworn.
for Constables . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> James Greathex . . . M <sup>r</sup> Thomas Chadwith . . .	Sworn.
for Allsegeyers . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> William Dye . . . M <sup>r</sup> James Dalm . . .	
for Allsegeyers	M <sup>r</sup> William Fox . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Benjamin Mahin . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Drouyen . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> William Deindor . . .	
Marketlookers for fish and flesh	M <sup>r</sup> John Shaw . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> James Blomley . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Thomas Bramson . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Thomas Coakson . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Henshaw . . .	Sworn.
for Corn Weights and Measures	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Smith . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Peter Brook . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> John Rowbottom . . .	Sworn.
Appraisors of Goods . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Taylor . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Peter Rowbottom . . .	
Sewithers and Sealers of Leather	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Taylor . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Peter Rowbottom . . .	
White meats for Marketstreet Lane	M <sup>r</sup> James Whitaker . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Drost . . .	Sworn.
for Long Millgate . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Wright . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Samuel Dali . . .	Sworn.
for Soanegate Street Warrant	M <sup>r</sup> Mark Rife . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Robert Raintoft . . .	Sworn.
for Dimsbank Churchyard Side	M <sup>r</sup> Josiah Bondman . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Richard Dixon . . .	
for Hanging Fifth End Lane and Hornel Street . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> George Walker alford . . .	Sworn.
	M <sup>r</sup> Luke Ashley . . .	
Marketlookers for the Aize of Broad . . . . .	M <sup>r</sup> Adam Grundy . . .	Accepted
	M <sup>r</sup> Walter Wilson . . .	Accepted
	M <sup>r</sup> William Dimister . . .	Accepted

- (2) **Regrating.** The purchase of foodstuffs in the fair or market and their resale in the same fair or market or within four miles thereof.
- (3) The wholesale purchase of foodstuffs and their resale retail on the same day in the town.
- (4) The cutting and gashing of raw hides. To detect the impairing or damaging of the raw hide when flaying.

**CARE OF THE CONDUIT.** To supervise and safeguard the chief drinking-water supply of the town from pollution; also responsibility for the keys of the building.

**DISTRIBUTORS** of the Rent Charge from Collyhurst. To dispense to the poor a payment to the burgesses of Manchester from the lord of the manor, secured by an Indenture dated February 12, 1616-17.

**DEPUTY CONSTABLE.** Paid officer to assist the Constables. Wages £20 a year.

**BEADLE.** Paid officer, acting under the instructions of the Constables, to apprehend vagrants, rogues, and wandering beggars, and to restrain the native poor from begging. Wages £7 a year.

**WINTER WATCH.** Two or more men to walk and watch throughout the town from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. from October 10 until March 25. Responsibility for an efficient watch rested upon the Constables.

Roeder gives this account of the town in 1552:

The population probably ranged from five to six thousand people. Its trade had already risen into sufficient prosperity to cause a considerable influx from the immediate out-townships and various parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Analysing the list of surnames in the Court Leet Records we find that a number of Scottish people had by that time settled in the town, for Scotland was one of the sources from which the merchants and chapmen of Manchester drew their linen yarn and wool. The Welsh element is sufficiently shown by the occurrence of seven names, while Irish nationality is represented by four surnames. The population was, therefore, already well leavened with new blood, a sure criterion of the expansion of industrial Manchester; this fresh infusion gave a further impulse to the restless trading spirit of this busy little manorial market place. . . . The town stretches in one direction along the bold rocky brows of the Irk valley up Milne Bridge (Scotland Bridge), which takes us to the town's oak woods at Collyhurst. On its banks are the Walke Mill, the Collyhurst and Smedley fulling mills for working the friezes and rugs.

There are only a few badly paved narrow, winding streets—fenell street, hengyinge dyche, mylne gate, smethe door, and huntsbank; from the top of the rocks rise the College and the Old Church, and reached from the town side by a finely arched stone bridge, spanning the deep channelled ditch. The centre of life is the market place; there are the booths, the stone cross, and the conduit. Crossing over we are in Market Stede Lane, and walk down Saynt Mary's gate and the old Market stede; a few steps lead us to Deynsgate, where they are building new black-and-white timber houses for the wealthier class; in the distance extends Aldport Park and Knot Mill Bridge; on the east side, without the pale of Hyde Cross, stretches Wythegraves. The martial spirit is kept up by two pairs of butts, one in Market Stede Lane for the inhabitants of the south side of the church the other upon Collyhurst for those on the northern side. The crowded market is held twice a week, and the great annual fair in autumn at Acresfield. The Irish merchants with their linen yarn haggle at Patrick Stone near Smithy Door. Aulnegers and leather sellers are scrutinising cloth and leather packs. The town numbers among its burgesses many rich mercers, grocers, haberdashers, clothiers, linen drapers, corvisers, and merchants and chapmen, who give employment to many linen and wool websters, shear-men, fullers, dyers, tanners, and whitlawers. The timbered dwelling houses and shops are scattered in picturesque irregularity; some old houses are still in homely thatch. From the backs of the houses we step at once on rural ground and pasturage. The pleasant appearance of the town is further enhanced in the outskirts by a number of quaint old halls. Hulme Hall, on the brink of the Irwell, leads by a ford to Ordsall Hall; the access from Deansgate is marked by stately Alport Park and lodge, and the top of Market Street Lane leads up to Garrett Hall, owned by the Traffords.

While these changes were taking place, the lord of the manor, Thomas West, sixteenth Baron, was absent on the royal service. He had been created a Knight of the Garter and in 1553 received a pension of £200 a year for his services against Northumberland. Although twice married Thomas died without issue.

His nephew and adopted heir, William West, had been, rightly or wrongly, accused of wishing to hasten the succession by poison. Lord de la Warre had brought the matter before Parliament, and William West was cut off with an allowance of £350 a year. Fourteen years later this eccentric kind of attainder was reversed, and William West succeeded to the honours and possessions of de la Warre. There are many difficulties of date and otherwise about this story. It is probable, however, that the



awkward circumstances of his succession, and his long severance from any direct connection with Manchester, had created an indisposition to recognise him, while the growing commercial importance of the town was not unnaturally accompanied by an insubordinate spirit. (Saintsbury.)

According to Hollingworth, the reformed worship made very considerable progress in Manchester, owing to the preaching of John Bradford, who was born and brought up in the town. His statue adorns the north-west corner of the Town Hall at the corner of Princess Street and Albert Square. He is sculptured in the act of preaching from an open bible, and wearing his M.A. gown. But before the changes in worship had time to take firm hold the accession of Mary restored the old order.

Warden Collier returned and the College of Clergy was ordered to be re-established. But the College house remained in the hands of the Earl of Derby. John Bradford was arrested and the steadfast Warden visited him in prison in London. "There is every reason to suppose that it was largely due to the influence of Collier that Manchester was spared the dreadful spectacle of one of her most noteworthy sons being consumed by fire in the Market Place for conscience sake. He was burnt at Smithfield London, instead". (O'Dea.)

The new Bishop of Chester, Cuthbert Scott, held a visitation in Manchester, causing a number of persons to be imprisoned in the College House, where they remained until the death of Mary. Laurence Vaux, the new Warden, had only been in office about a year when, refusing to take the oath to the new queen, he was deprived. He is said to have carried off the Communion plate of the Collegiate Church with him.

It is strange that the sixth mural painting in the Town Hall should have been dated 1556, as there is no entry in the Court Leet Records of that year concerning weights and measures. But there is such an entry ten years later.

Exaggerated reports of the consternation on the death of Mary are well illustrated by a letter from William Cole to John Bale in Basle.

Some put an end to their lives by the sword, some by hanging, not a few by drowning, many threw themselves headlong from the tops of buildings and fourteen victims by these methods of suicide are counted. After the Queen and Cardinal Pole, who are said to have died together within three hours, eleven of the major bishops perished within a short space of time from



grief, so it is believed. Also a very severe fever afflicted all the people of Manchester, so that there was hardly one survivor in so great a city.

But no record of a plague which decimated the town at this time has been found. Nor was the town a city or even a borough.

## *13. Elizabeth I*

1558-1603

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**H**ARLAND attempted a description of the town in the days of Elizabeth as an introduction to his edition of the early section of the Court Leet Records. From the Records themselves we learn many interesting details of life in Manchester at this time. The black-and-white building, standing to this day in the Old Shambles and now known as the Old Wellington Inn, was inherited by Edward Syddall in the first year of the reign. From the will of his father, Richard Syddall, confirmed by references in the Court Leet Records, we learn that Market Street was the original name of what is now known as the Old Shambles. Modern Market Street was always Marketstidd or Marketstreet Lane. Archery butts were ordered to be erected, at the charges of the inhabitants, in Market Street Lane and in Collyhurst. No persons were to brew ale unless they could provide two beds and they were to display a painted "Syne of a Hand". Later it was ordered that the sign should only be put forth when they had ale to sell and withdrawn when they had none. Ale was 4*d.* a gallon without and 6*d.* a gallon within the house. The jury thought that thirty alehouses and inns were quite enough. To prevent extravagance at weddings, guests, who in those days contributed to the cost of the feast, were restricted to the payment of 4*d.* each.

Owing to the shortage of fats, butter or suet was not to be put into bread. Nets were forbidden for catching fish in the rivers. Dogs were ordered to be muzzled when they went out. Two attorneys, appointed to help persons brought before the Court Leet, were allotted the large sum of 2*d.* for each client. The game of "giddy-gaddy" or "cat's pallet", i.e. striking one end of a sharpened piece of wood causing it to rise and then driving it some distance with a stick, was forbidden under a fine of 4*d.* for each offence. Every man appointed to the watch

had to provide himself with a "Jake" (stout leather jacket), a "Sallet" (skullcap of iron), and a "Bill" (an axe with a long handle and convex blade). Servants and apprentices were not allowed out after 9 p.m. in summer and 8 p.m. in winter. Wandering swine were still a nuisance so, for the first time, a swineherd was appointed to collect them and take them to Collyhurst woods. He was to receive 1*d.* for each animal every quarter. An open watercourse ran down Market Street and an ample stream flowed under the Hanging Bridge.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth disturbed the religious settlement once again, but the majority of the Manchester clergy remained on duty, reading the Prayer Book instead of the Latin Mass. Among the laity, even many avowed Catholics largely conformed and attended service in the Collegiate Church. The new Warden, Thomas Herle, was largely non-resident and contented himself with lining his own pocket by alienating the lands of the parish church. He was later deprived for this mismanagement. Numerous libels on the queen and those who favoured her proceedings were published in Manchester and neighbourhood. One of these, entitled *Leycester's Commonwealth*, was suppressed by order of the Privy Council.

It is interesting to note that, many years later, the Manchester cotton trade was exempted from the operation of the Artificers Act of 1562 by Court ruling that, as the trade was not in existence at the time of the passing of the Act in question, the compulsory apprenticeship law could not be enforced.

By the Act of 1566, "No person shall sell in Lancashire or carry out of that county any kind of cloths, cottons, friezes or rugs made within that county to be sold, before the owner or maker shall put to the same a seal of lead bearing his mark engraved on one side and the true length of every cloth &c engraved on the other side of the seal." The queen's aulneger, who was ordered to live in Manchester, inspected these and then affixed the Royal Seal of lead thereto. Penalties were inflicted for breach of these laws. The Aulneger (Latin *ulna*, an ell or yard) was appointed not only for the assessment and collection of subsidy, but also for maintaining the standard of work and this second aspect of his duties was especially resented.

On October 2, 1566, the Court Leet issued this instruction: "We order that all manner of weights within this town shall be



SIXTH MURAL PAINTING  
Proclamation regarding weights and measures



made lawful in that case provided. And that the same weights be provided and made in Brass and sealed with the town Seal. And that weights being made truly and justly, all others to be made after the same Rate." By a strange error, the date on the sixth mural is ten years earlier, in Mary's reign, but there is no such entry in the Court Leet Records for that year. If one accepts the official *Handbook on the Murals*, then the painting itself contains three errors. While the bellman may have proclaimed the Court Leet instruction about weights and measures, there is no such entry in the Records themselves and it would have been made in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The school-boys are dressed in the Tudor costume of Chetham's Hospital, which did not come into being until the time of the Commonwealth, so that their inclusion is a dreadful anachronism hardly to be excused by even artistic licence. No "King Edward's Schools" are known to have existed in Manchester.

It is sometimes stated that about this time a number of exiles, fleeing from the persecution of Alva in the Low Countries, settled in Manchester and introduced new branches of manufacture. But there is no evidence for this and no mention of such an influx in the Court Leet Records.

On October 4, 1569: "The Jury doth order that there shall not be any rug or cotton wet openly in the streets but that the same be done either in his or their houses or backsydes upon pain for every time so offending, 3s. 4d." Earwaker's note says: "Cotton at this time means a woollen cloth. Thus in 1539, in the Letters Patent of Henry VIII granting the office of Aulneger to John Burne, there is a special reference to woollen clothes called cottons." Rugs were coarse woollen cloths, for the manufacture of which Manchester was at this time celebrated. By an Act of Edward VI, these were to be 36 yards in length. The trade in these "cottenes" must have been considerable for as early as 1565 they were being sent by horse and coastwise by ship to Bristol, for there is this entry for September 18 in that year: "In le Trynnetie de Carleene (10 tunnes), from Bristol to Newport and beyond:—Of Robert Touns of ye City of Bristol, merchant:—two tunnes contain iron and two tunnes goodes cottens de Manchester." (Dawson.)

Axon asserts that the first literary reference to Manchester is to be found in the *Eclogues* of Alexander Barclay, 1570, who as a preaching friar, at some time or other, visited the town.

But the reference to “good Manchester” is more probably to Godmanchester in Hampshire, and this is confirmed by the note in the Early English Texts edition.

The previous Pope would have accepted the Prayer Book in English had his supremacy been acknowledged. But the new Pope, Pius V, a stern Inquisitor, excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, and declared her subjects released from their allegiance. By this act the papists were placed in a very difficult position and, for the first time, Romanism became identified with disloyalty. A tolerant policy was now rendered impossible and penal statutes against the Catholics were enforced. There were some disturbances at the parish church, and in 1574 one of the Fellows was stabbed on his way to Stretford. But persecution did not become acute locally until ten years later.

In 1574 the lord of the manor began to enclose the common at Collyhurst. But the townsmen sallied forth and tore down the enclosures which they felt were an infringement of their rights. This led to a visit by William West, seventeenth Baron, who now let the land to those willing to pay 20s. in advance and a rent of 4s. a year per acre.

The jury of the Court Leet, in April 1577, ordered that “James Smith, capper and Wm. Savage shall be officers to see that the statute of wearing caps shall be observed and kept”, and that those who defaulted should be reported. The penalty was 3s. 4d. for each day. This clearly refers to the Act of Parliament passed in 1570, by which every person above the age of seven years was required to wear on Sundays and all holidays, “a cap of wool, knit, thicked and dressed in England, made within this realm, and only dressed and finished by some of the trade of cappers”. The Act was repealed in 1579.

At this time began the shortage of drinking-water which was to trouble the growing town for many generations. The jury ordered: “No manner of person or persons whatsoever shall bring to the Conduit any kind of vessel of greater size than one woman is able to bear full of water and but one of every house at one time and to have their turn as hath been accustomed.”

A new Charter for the Collegiate Church, under the title of the “College of Christ in Manchester”, was granted by the queen on July 18, 1578. This provided for a Warden at 4s. a day; eight Fellows at 1s. 4d.; four Chaplains at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The Warden was to forfeit 2s. 6d. and each Fellow 8d. for each

day's absence from duty. The original document is now in the cathedral. Among the newly appointed Fellows was Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's and joint author of the Church Catechism.

Sir Thomas, eighteenth Baron, was the last of the Wests connected with Manchester. In consideration of the sum of £3,000 he "did grant, bargain and sell to John Lacye, citizen and cloth-worker of London, all the Manor, Lordship and Seignory of Manchester". Lacye, by a deed of July 16, 1580, appointed Christopher Anderton, gentleman, and Nicholas Mosley (his own intimate friend) his attorneys to take possession of the manor. But there was some delay on the part of the Wests and it was not until 1582 that Lacye was recognized as lord of the manor.



RADCLIFFE HALL

William Chadderton, a native of Nuthurst (Moston), was appointed Bishop of Chester, Warden of Manchester, and one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the North of England in 1579. He was very friendly with the Earl of Derby, who at that time lived at Alport Lodge, with its park of 95 acres, between the Medlock and the present Quay Street. Chadderton was a constant preacher in Manchester and there was scarcely a man of any importance who did not take some interest in the services of "th'owd church".

In the next year, Pope Gregory XIII sent a body of priests for the reconversion of England. Thus began the first schism in the English Church and the foundation of the modern Roman

Catholic communion. New and more severe measures were now taken against “recusants”, as the Catholics were called and, in 1581, the bishop removed to Manchester. Recusants were now removed from the surrounding country and lodged in Radcliffe Hall, a moated black-and-white mansion, standing near the site of the *Guardian* office of to-day.

Where the present Palatine buildings now stand, in what was then called Hunt’s Bank but is now Victoria Street, a prison known as the New Fleet was built. Later it became known as the House of Correction. In 1584, a number of recusants were sent for trial at Lancaster, where two were executed. A third is said to have suffered at Knott Mill. The heads of the three unfortunate victims were exposed on the tower of the Collegiate Church. The story of these dreadful times is stirringly told by O’Dea.

Yet another little-known reference to Manchester “Cottons” is to be found in a rare tract, issued in 1580, written by Robert Hitchcocke and entitled *A politique platt for the honour of the Prince, the great profite of the publique state, reliefe of the poore; preservation of the riche, reformation of roges and idle persons, and the wealthe of thousands that knowe not how to live*. The tract is an earnest plea for the encouragement of fisheries and, in the course of it, he observes: “At Rone (Rouen) in France, which is the cheapest vent, be solde our English wares, as Welche and Manchester cottons &c.”

As late as 1582, Robert Barlow had a smithy in the Market Place and eight years later his son, of the same occupation, also kept a tavern in his cellar. The ducking stool, still the punishment for brawling women, was used in the moat of Radcliffe Hall. Edward Burrow’s wife caused great annoyance to her neighbours by keeping swine in her house having no backside, i.e. garden.

William Camden, the antiquarian and historian, visited Lancashire collecting material for his great work *Britannia*. Of Manchester he says:

Where Irk and Irwell meet together on the left-hand bank raised of a reddish kind of stone, scarce three miles from Mersey, flourished that town of right great antiquity which we now call Manchester, and Antonine the Emperor called Mancunium. Thus, retaining the first part of its ancient name, far excellet the towns lying round about it, for the beautiful shew it carries,



for resort unto it, and for clothing; in regard also of the mercate place, the fair church and college. But in the foregoing age, this town was of far greater account both for certain woollen clothes there wrought, and in great request, commonly called Manchester Cottons. . . . In the park of the Earl of Derbies near adjoining, called Alparke, where the brook Medlocke enters into Irwell, I saw a plot and groundwork of an ancient fortress built four square, commonly called Mancastle. . . . Upon a stony hill Manchester is seated and beneath the very town at Collyhurst there are good and famous quarries of stone.

The muniment room at the Cathedral contains an interesting manuscript, known as the *Tithe Corn Book of Manchester*. It names the fields, several being still open and cultivated in doles or strips, and the crops they bore. The account shows how the tithe surveyor, on behalf of the Warden and Fellows, noted the tithes, which were not leased out to third parties, but were retained in hand. In each field he noted the number of tosses, sheaves, hattocks and riders of wheat, barley, oats, beans and peas, counting them by scores and reckoning six score to the hundred. *The Corn Book* was printed by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in 1904.

Hollingworth tells us that in 1586, "there was a great dearth in this county, in as much that in Manchester a penny white loaf weighed but 6 or 8 oz.; ryebread 9 or 10 oz.; brown bread about 14 oz., Troy weight". The Warden and others, pitying the condition of the poor, ordered that the penny white loaf should weigh 9 oz., brown bread and oatcake 15 oz. Every loaf was to bear the baker's mark, to be wholesome and well baked and only twelve to the dozen.

Thomas Cogan lived for over a generation in Manchester. He was High Master of the Grammar School and also a leading physician in the town. It seems curious that the governors allowed him to follow both professions but we are told "he attended to the duties of the school with regularity and closeness". Possibly they were pleased to settle a physician in a town which did not contain many medical men. Very few who at this time practised medicine in Manchester and the neighbourhood, were properly qualified. Moreover, they practised among a population which preferred a charm to medicine or a pill. In 1586, Cogan published his *Haven of Health* which, like most such early works, laid stress on diet for avoiding disease. His "water porridge", made of oats not even ground, would not



find much favour in these days of prepared cereals. “Of oats first dried and after lightly shelled, being boiled with salt they make a kind of meate which they call water potage, and of the same boiled in whey they make whey potage, and in ale ale-potage: meates very wholesome and temperate and light of digestion”. Many other interesting food facts are found in the volume, some of which are quoted from the first edition, in the *Palatine Notebook*.

When security of the country was threatened by the Spanish Armada, Manchester furnished 38 harquebussiers, 38 archers and 144 billmen and pikemen.



NEWTON LANE (now Oldham Road) AS IT WAS IN 1754

Printing came to Manchester, for a very brief period, in an unorthodox manner. Many of the Reformers, who had fled abroad during the persecutions of Mary, returned imbued with Calvinistic principles. They were known as Puritans because they wished to abolish the bishops and “purify” the Church from “ceremonies”. They printed a series of bitter sarcastic pamphlets, enlivened with coarse humour, called the “Martin Marprelate Tracts” on a private press that moved from place to place. In 1588, Robert Waldegrave set up his press in a cottage in Newton Lane, now Oldham Road. This cottage was one of a pair that stood in a garden, on the right-hand side of the road about a hundred yards from the corner of Ancoats

Lane. Here he was surprised by the servants of Lord Derby who then lived in the College. The press, being of timber, was sawn up and hacked in pieces, the ironwork being battered and rendered unserviceable. The letters of his type were melted and their cases and his other tools destroyed. Waldegrave escaped to Edinburgh where he became the King's Printer, but when James I succeeded to the English throne, he returned to London.

An interesting account of the value of household goods at this time is given in the inventory of Elizabeth Gouldsmith, late of Salford.

Chapmen not only did a busy trade locally but regularly visited the great fairs of Chester, London and Stourbridge. Roeder quotes:

Richard Nugent of Manchester in his journey to London fair in 1589:

Paid and spent riding to London	...	...	13s.	5d.
for his diet in London	...	...	£1	5s. 2d.
for standing in the fair	...	...	10s.	0d.
for his horse, grass in London	...	...	9s.	2d.

Blackwell Hall was then the great resort of the Manchester frieze, rug and cotton men. At the close of the London fair he travelled to Stourbridge fair and

Paid betwixt London and Cambridge	...	3s.	4d.
for his stand in the fair	...	13s.	4d.
for his diet and spent on chapmen	...	9s.	8d.
for grass of his horse, six days	...	1s.	6d.
between Cambridge and Manchester	...	6s.	10d.

Not only did Manchester traders attend the great fairs, but their business transactions also extended far away to Hull, Worcester, Bristol, Salisbury, etc.

Thirty years of settled peace and good government had encouraged the growth of trade and manufacture. More people were employed, better wages were obtained, and consequently the people began to enjoy domestic comforts to which hitherto they had been strangers. Baines tells us that "the luxuries of chimneys and glass windows in dwelling houses began to be generally introduced; straw pallets and wooden bolsters on which the fathers of the present inhabitants had reposed, were discarded and beds and pillows were introduced in their stead". The first reference to a chimney in the Court Leet

Records is in 1592 and the owner is ordered to construct it "so that it be not noysome" to his neighbour. Irishmen had begun to settle in the town, for in this year, according to the Bishop of Chester's Visitation Book, a number of them were fined for walking in the fields instead of attending service in the parish church.

Dr. Dee, the new Warden, appointed in 1593, was a learned man with a most inquisitive turn of mind. He engaged in chemistry, which in those days was connected with alchemy, and was accused of dabbling in necromancy and magic.



MAGDALEN CUP

Centrepiece among the silver in the Art Gallery is the silver gilt Magdalen Cup, formerly owned by the Byrom family. Valued at £4,500, it was acquired by the help of the National Art Collection Fund and the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London.

The cup is the only solid one in existence. Another model is known but, combining crystal with plate, it is inferior. This Elizabethan treasure is so named because it resembles the pot of ointment carried by Mary Magdalene in the 15th and 16th century paintings.

The appointment of Sir Thomas Egerton, who had his seat at Knutsford as Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Chester and Lord Privy Seal in 1594, probably led to the deviation of the post road through that town. As late as December 1726, a letter from Thomas Cattell in Manchester to John Byrom in London bears the postmark "Knotsford" and probably the Derbyshire post route only came in when the mail coach was established in 1785.



HOUGH END HALL

In 1596 the Manor of Manchester was sold to Sir Nicholas Moseley for £3,500. He was the second son of Edward Moseley of Hough End, Didsbury, and became a citizen and cloth-worker of London. Three years after his purchase of the manor of Manchester, he became Lord Mayor of London and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. He rebuilt Hough End Hall of brick on the site of the old mansion and dropped the central "e" in his name, which the family has ever since written as Mosley. Two years later William, Earl of Derby, sold Alport Park and Lodge with forty acres to Edward Mosley, second son of Sir Nicholas.



## 14. *Early Stuarts*

1603-1642

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SOON after the accession of the Scottish king as James I, plague broke out in Manchester. By July 21 the mortality was 200; by 20 August, 700; and finally reached the total of 1,078, whereas in the previous year the death rate had only been 188. A little known benefaction was the gift of 33s. 4d. from the Rev. Hugh Atwill of Cornwall, "to keepe the poore in worke, the stocke for ever to Remayne, the gaine the poores to be disposed of by the Maisters and govners of the Toune of Manchester and such fytt men as they shall thincke good". The money was received by the Constables on March 9, 1606, but there is no record of what became of it.

Mr. Bourne, one of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, preached in the fields near Shooters Brook, with the townsmen on one side and the country people on the other. It is said that the "Great Stone" at Stretford is one of several which recall this plague, the holes being filled with vinegar into which the townsmen put their money to purify it before the country people took it out to pay for provisions they brought to the boundary. Legend relates that the stone was thrown by the giant Tarquin, the two holes showing where he grasped it with his thumb and finger; but more probably it was a Roman boundary stone.

An echo of Gunpowder Plot is to be found in a letter from Sir Nicholas Mosley and Richard Holland, dated November 20, 1605, to the Constables of Manchester.

For better accomplishing of his Majesty's commands by the late proclamation for detecting and apprehending divers traitors therein mentioned or others suspected of having had any hand in that horrible treason, we command you to cause watch and ward to be duly kept in Manchester, for staying and examining all strangers and others suspected of having been privy to the said

detestable enterprise, and to cause them to be forthwith brought before the next Justice of the Peace to be examined and searched for letters."

From the Deed of Partnership drawn up between Geo. Tipping of Manchester and Geo. Chetham we learn that the latter was to share the profits made by selling in London "Linen cloth, commonly called Stopport (Stockport) cloth; Cotton Wooll and Cotton Yarne, Woollen cloth commonlie called ffrizes, whites, rugges and Bayes". He was also to receive £26 per annum for selling "Sackcloths, fustians, and such like commodities".

After the plague ceased, increasing trade and the steady influx of strangers into the town brought fresh problems for the Court Leet. Several attempts to prevent smallware dealers assembling in the Market Place on a Friday having failed, the authorities gave way and allowed this unofficial market to continue. Puritanism was offended by the sale of fruit on Sundays and this was, for the first time, forbidden in 1611.

Additional living accommodation was provided by opening up direct access to many cellars and there were constant orders that such steps should be fenced for the protection of inhabitants and cattle. Football in the streets was forbidden under a fine of 1s. and officers were specially appointed to see that the order was enforced.

At the Court Leet on October 1, 1612, the jury ordered "that from henceforth the Constables of this town shall bring in their accounts yearly at Michaelmas, the said accounts to be entered in a book to be kept by the Constables for the time being and the charges of the said book and writing of the accounts to be defrayed upon the common charge of the town". These accounts have been published in three volumes from 1612 to 1776, except that the years 1648-1742 are missing.

The first brick house is mentioned as being in Deansgate in 1612 though there was a brick croft off Market Sted Lane fifty years earlier. Probably these earlier bricks, which may have been unburned, were used for filling in wooden framework instead of wattle and daub.

Attempts to open shops were checked by the order that corn or malt were only to be sold in open market (not in any house or shop), where the inhabitants were to be served first. Congestion in the Market Place was relieved slightly by the removal

of the Fish Market to Smithy Bank, at the end of the Old Bridge. Movable stalls were allowed in the Market Place on a Saturday and some tradesmen were allowed to erect boards in front of their dwellings.

John May, a deputy Aulneger, wrote in his pamphlet 1613:

A sort of cloth is made called Manchester or Lancashire plaines, to make cottons, which contain about a yard in breadth. These are often bought by merchants and others, which cut them in length according to a kersie, and hath them dressed and dyed in form to a kersie, the which are not only vended into foreign parts, but many of them vended in the realm, which cloth proves very unprofitable in weaving. Besides there is a greedy desire in some merchants, who cause the clothier to make their cloth of extraordinary length, that is to say the substance and length of a cloth and a half in one cloth; and if they cannot get them thus, then they will cut cloths, and draw three cloths into two so cunningly as can hardly be found. This is done to deceive the King of his customs and other duties. There is also a late commodity in great use of making within this kingdom, which setteth many people on work, called fustians, which for want of government are so decayed by falsehood, keeping neither order in goodness or assise, in so much that the makers thereof, in this time of use, are weary of their trades, and it is thought will return again to the place from whence it came, who does still observe their sorts and goodness in such true manner, as by their secles they are sold, keeping up the credit of that which they made. What a shame it is to our nation, to be so void of reason and government that a good trade should be suppressed for want of good order amongst themselves and has so good a precedent from others. These many enormities are now in the height of practice, and the evil disposed having no feeling thereof, but run forward to the ruin of all; but to the well-disposed, which look into these abuses, it appears lamentable and grievous, desiring that a better portion may be procured for those offenders to purge so vile and dangerous a disease, which may in a short time grow incurable.

This is the cry of an official who felt his office to be slipping from him and was losing touch with his work through experiments and novelties which he did not understand how to deal with.

Increasing vagrancy was committed to the care of the Beadle with the magnificent salary of a 1s. a week, though he was allowed 4d. for every vagabond that he whipped. This may be the origin of the term “a fourpenny one”, for a blow. No doubt many an honest seeker of employment suffered to increase the beadle’s income after April 1614.

The first local fire-fighting equipment was purchased in 1615. This consisted of 6 ladders, 24 buckets, 4 ropes and 4 hooks. Most of the houses were thatched and many of them burned fires on open hearths, but attention was frequently paid to dangerous chimneys. There was still a smithy in Deansgate and a barber's shop appeared in St. Mary's Gate.

"The Constables were employing a deputy constable at least as early as 1616, though they did not yet pay him a fixed stipend; he received merely occasional fees and his expenses" (Redford). But the Constables' Accounts, October 1613, record the payment:— "To Robert Worrall for his twelve months wages being deputy constable the year aforesaid. £1".

Sir Nicholas Mosley had attempted to enclose and cultivate his waste of Collyhurst. But the burgesses asserted their rights of feeding their swine and commenced legal proceedings against him and these were pending when he died. His son, Sir Rowland Mosley, reached a friendly settlement with the burgesses in 1617, by which he should be free to enclose and improve the waste and have it free from common pasture. The inhabitants of Manchester were to have the right and liberty to build cabins to house infected persons during any plague on the six acres nearest to the town and also to bury the dead there. A yearly rent of £10 for the use of the poor of Manchester was to be paid by successive lords of the manor to the Boroughreeve and after the incorporation this was continued to the Mayor. There are many references to the disposal of the Collyhurst money in the Court Leet Records.

In 1617, Market Street extended as far as High Street, while the pond known as the Horse Pool stretched a long way down the other side. At the east end of the church a narrow lane bordered with houses was known as Half Street. The water-course in Hanging Ditch had become a common sewer, and six years later the town spent £3 0s. 2d. for cleansing it.

Increasing population began that problem of the disposal of privy refuse which was to increase and grow as the town extended, and was not finally solved until the end of the nineteenth century. Owing to the increasing number of horses bringing goods and the animals coming for slaughter, the decreasing cultivated area was insufficient to absorb the manure and part of Acresfield (now St. Ann's Square) became a common midden.



That quaint and honest waterman, John Taylor, made a rambling excursion throughout a considerable portion of the country, somewhere about 1620, and has recorded his experiences in doggerel verse. The account of his visit to Manchester is amusing and one would like to know more of Mr. John Pinners, with his eight sorts of ale, and Mistress Saracoale of the "Eagle and Child".

To bear a letter he did me require,  
Neere Manchester unto a good esquire,  
His Kinsman, Edmond Prestwich, he ordained  
That I was at Manchester entertained.  
Two nights and one day, ere we thence could passe,  
For man and horse, rost, boyl'd and oates and grasse.

We went into the house of one John Pinners  
(A man that lives amongst a crew of sinners).  
And there eight severall sorts of ale we had  
All able to make one starke drunke or mad.

Indeed, and very deed their loves were such  
That in their praises I cannot write too much  
They merit more than I have here compiled.  
Whereat my hostesse, (a good ancient Woman),  
Did entertoun me with respect not common.  
She caused my linnen, shirts, and hands be washt  
And on my way she caused me to be refresht.

So mistress Saracoale, hostesse kinde,  
And Manchester, with thanks, I left behinde.

"The town of Manchester must be remembered and worthily for their encouragement commended who buy the yarn of the Irish in great quantity and weaving it, return the same again in linen into Ireland to sell". Where these Irish merchants haggled over their linen yarn, near Smithy Door, was known as the Patrick Stone. One of the inhabitants, by using false weights, cheated these Irish merchants as much as 6 oz. in 10 lb. and was fined 6s. 8d. by the Court Leet as well as being reported to the steward for further punishment at his discretion.

Three charities originated in the reign of James I. Nugent's left two yearly rents of 20s. each, for the purchase of turves for poor householders. Marshall left two yearly rents of 20s. each for distribution to the poor, and Mayes left £100 to be invested for the same purpose.

Following the custom of the time, yarn and other materials were bought to set the poor to work so that the goods produced could be sold and the fund replenished. A surprising gift for this purpose was one of £30 from the "Companye of Virginia", of which no explanation is forthcoming.

Religion occupied the foremost place in men's minds in the seventeenth century. Led by the saintly Bishop Andrews, Church opinion followed the Dutch reformer Arminius, who rejected cold Calvinism. This new school of churchmanship laid stress upon the continuity of the Anglican Church with that of the Middle Ages, insisted on the Apostolical succession and the necessity of Episcopal ordination. Charles I made close alliance with the Arminians while the House of Commons was largely Puritan; either Presbyterian or, as the king's power waned, becoming more Independent.

In Manchester the Collegiate Church was still influenced greatly by William Bourne, one of the Fellows who was the most popular minister in the town, while the Warden was largely non-resident. Another prominent and popular divine was Henry Newcome who, after the Restoration, seceded and established Cross Street Chapel as a Presbyterian Church.

The first reference to a local postal service appears in 1631 in the *Constables' Accounts*, Vol. I, p. 279.

Feb. 22nd. pd Richard Halliwell's man for meals for 3 post horses for Mr. Cotton. 00.02.02.

Richard Halliwell was the landlord of the Bull's Head Tavern in the Market Place.

In 1632, a placard inciting to open rebellion against the king was fixed with shoemaker's wax on the south door of the church by some unknown person and this caused considerable commotion. It is interesting, not only as a specimen of the religious fanaticism of the malcontents of that period, but also as an evidence that the idea of taking away the king's life existed in some minds at least seventeen years before he was brought to trial.

In his will of 1634, Henry Bury bequeathed "ten pounds to Manchester (the good place of my best education) to buy books with then to be paid when they shall have a convenient place of their own furnished with books for the common use of the said parish to the worth of a hundred pounds a thing

that may in my opinion soon be done in that great rich and religious town". This legacy was not without effect in Manchester, for steps were actually taken to provide a building and the surrender of the Stanley Chapel for such a purpose was obtained on December 17, 1636. But it does not appear that Bury's benefaction was ever claimed.

Charles I issued a new charter in 1635, under the title of the "College of Christ in Manchester", with the same number of officials as before. The original charter is in the cathedral.

The new Warden, Richard Heyrick, had obtained his appointment in settlement of debt incurred by James I to his father. Heyrick was inclined to the Presbyterian form of Church government, although more favourable to the liturgy of the Church of England than his colleagues.

On July 25, 1636, the Chapter agreed that "as the College House was long since taken away, houses in Deansgate (which houses are specified by name) should be assigned to the Warden and Fellows, and to their successors respectively for ever, to be taken possession of by such Warden and Fellows as the houses fall respectively out of lease so that the clergy might keep residence in Manchester" (Chapter Registers). By this move the Warden became resident almost on the site occupied by the pre-Norman priest.

Owing to the number of fires and the houses and shops that were broken into during the night, the jury of the Court Leet appointed two night watchmen whose hours were to be from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m.

On October 10, 1637, the jury issued the following order which, even today is of great importance for local history.

The jury of the present Court Leet being careful that all such Deeds evidences or other writings, as Do concern the common benefit and right of this Town, may be safely preserved and kept for the use of the said Town, Do order that a strong Chest having two locks set upon it shall be forthwith made at the charges of the Town, and that all such evidences Deeds and writings as Do concern the said Town shall be put therein and that one key shall be kept by the Boroughreeve, and the other by the Senior Constable, and that a Catalogue of all and every the said writings shall be made and put into the said Chest with the said writings and the said Chest to be kept in the custody of the Boroughreeve for the time being, and so by him to be

delivered over unto the succeeding Boroughreeve and Constable from year to year, at every Court Leet to be holden for the Manor of Manchester in the Month of Michaelmas Successively.

From the Constables' Accounts, December 3, 1637, it may be seen how small the cost of this chest was: "To Rich: Martinscroft, a Chest & Bands & Locks for Ye Townes usse 14/-". A list of certain writings belonging to the Town was presented at the next Court Leet in 1638. It is recorded that this chest had been received. "A new Chest with 2 locks upon wherein the Deeds and writings afore mentioned, and all that Concerne the Town in general are to be kept."

In the Court Leet Records for October 10, 1637, there is the first record of a silk weaver in the town. He is accused of allowing his mastiff to roam the streets.

Next year the Warden and Fellows denied themselves of a whole year's income in order that the choir of the church should be put into fitting repair.

In 1640 Parliament was petitioned in favour of a University for Manchester and the old College (Chetham's Hospital) was suggested as a suitable building.

Lewis Robert's *Treasure of Traffike or A Discourse on Foreign Trade* is usually considered to make the first mention of local cotton manufacture. "They buy cotton wool in London, that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna and at home work the same and perfect it in fustians, vermillions, dymities and such stuff and thus return it to London where the same is vended and sold and not seldom sent into foreign parts where the first materials may be more easily had for their manufacture."

Relatively important as was the advance in the trade of Manchester and other Lancashire towns it must not be overlooked that such achievements were yet very diminutive. Manchester was steadily, tenaciously and surely identifying itself with the first principles of success by unstinted application, concentration of effort, and unchallenged reputation for excellence in products, and when we realise that the machinery by which such results were obtained was of the most elementary order, crude in construction, tedious in operation and the workshop the home of the manufacturer, we obtain the mental adjustment which places in true perspective the conditions of the period and the character of a people soon to achieve a far reaching and outstanding influence in the industrial world. (Loudon.)



Humphrey Chetham was the most prominent Manchester merchant of this period. He was born at Crumpsall Hall in 1580 and, as a schoolboy, daily walked a couple of miles to the Grammar School. At the age of seventeen, he was bound apprentice to Samuel Tipping, linen draper, for a period of seven



HUMPHREY CHETHAM STATUE IN CATHEDRAL

years. About 1605, he entered into partnership with his brother George, citizen and grocer of London, but soon returned to manage the Manchester side of the business. He bought friezes, fustians, cottons, and haberdashery in large quantities for the London market and also sold them retail locally. Humphrey Chetham was a manufacturer in the literal sense, employing men and women who made every fabric by hand. By quiet

perseverance and unremitting labour, he acquired considerable wealth in a comparatively brief period.

In 1621, George and Humphrey bought Clayton Hall with its park and private chapel; also a mill, cottages and lands in the neighbourhood. On the death of his brother, Humphrey became sole owner of Clayton Hall. Later he bought Turton Tower, near Bolton. In 1634 he learned with regret that he had been selected for the office of High Sheriff of Lancashire and, in spite of his remonstrances, was confirmed in the office by Charles I. In this position he had the onerous duty of collecting Ship Money for the king. During the Civil War, he was appointed Treasurer for the county by Parliament.

Before the country plunged into Civil War, a form of "Protestation" had been drawn up by the Long Parliament and sent by the members to their respective counties. It expressed a resolve to maintain the Anglican Church, to protect the king's person, the freedom of Parliament and the rights and liberties of the subject. Led by Warden Heyrick, Manchester people to the number of about 1,200 signed the Protestation on February 28, 1642. This earliest and most complete list of local names is printed with notes, in the *Palatine Notebook*.

Several petitions from Lancashire were presented to the king. One drawn up by Heyrick and signed by about 7,000 persons was presented by the Warden to Charles at York. In June the king sent a commission of array to the sheriff of the county and the magazines at Preston and Liverpool were seized by the Royalists.

## 15. *Siege of Manchester and end of Civil War*

1642-1648

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MANCHESTER townsmen were, in the majority, favourable to the cause of Parliament although a good many of them were of Royalist sympathies. The population was probably about 5,000. Close round the town, there was a small circle of Parliamentary families, although all the greater landowners declared for the king.

The burning question was the control of ten barrels of gunpowder and a few bundles of match that were stored in Lord Derby's house, now Chetham's Hospital. Alexander Rigby, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, hastened to the town with news that the Royalists had seized the magazines elsewhere. A meeting of the inhabitants having been called, it was resolved to appeal to Parliament for protection and a letter was sent to the deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire requesting the removal of the magazine.

Ralph Ashton of Middleton was the first to receive this letter and, with a body of his tenants, hurried to Manchester where he joined Rigby in training the militia. The Royalist section of the inhabitants demanded possession of the gunpowder and, on this being refused, attempted to seize it by force. They failed and it was then hidden in various parts of the town. At another meeting of the inhabitants, Ralph Holland of Denton was appointed governor, a regiment of foot was added to the militia, and the town was taken possession of in the name of Parliament. Many from the surrounding districts crowded into the town and the militia increased to between 7,000 and 8,000. King Charles seems to have realized the necessity for disarming the town and directed that one-third of the powder should be sent to Bury, the second to Rochdale and the rest to remain

in the town. The order was read at the Market Cross but ignored.

A pamphlet, printed by order of Parliament on July 9, 1642, under the title *Beginning of the Civil Warres in England*, described a skirmish between Lord Strange and the defenders of Manchester five days before that date.

“This pamphlet is described by Dr. Hibbert-Ware as a base attempt made by the opposite party to excite the country at large against Lord Strange by a promulgation of the most untrue and calumnious reports. He stigmatises the account given of this attack upon the town as a vile falsehood. His opinion on this occurrence is shared by Dr. Ormerod who adds, that if the pamphlet did not contain what was untrue, it would be difficult to suppose that the events would have been overlooked in the other accounts of the town at this period. (Reilly.)

#### Broxap comments:

It is a circumstantial account, giving the time at which the battle began and ended and the number killed on both sides. But nevertheless it is almost certainly an entire fabrication. None of the main authorities mention it; and, if any skirmish occurred at all in July, it would certainly have been mentioned in Lord Strange's impeachment.

That the Royalist party in Manchester was still neither small nor insignificant is shown by the effort they made to save the town from bloodshed. With this intent they visited Lord Strange at Bury and offered to buy an amount of powder equal to that taken away and replace it in his house. They also invited him to a banquet in the town, provided he came peaceably and attended only by members of his own personal suite. Lord Strange accepted and the banquet was arranged for the fifteenth at the “Eagle and Child” tavern, the landlord of which was Alexander Green. After the arrival of the Royalists, news was brought that armed men were assembling outside. First the Sheriff and then Lord Strange himself tried to persuade them to disperse. As these efforts were in vain, the Royalists decided to leave the town. But one of their party was attacked by Richard Percival, a linen webster from Kirkmanshulme, and he was shot by an unknown hand. This is said to be the first blood shed in the Civil War. The claim is sometimes disputed in favour of Hull, where Charles I was refused admission on



April 23, Lord Strange was fired at several times but escaped and retired with Sir Alexander Radcliffe to Ordsall Hall.

On August 22, 1642, Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham and the Civil War began. On September 16, Lord Strange was impeached for high treason by the House of Commons and publication of these charges was ordered to be made in all churches. Finding that the Puritans of Lancashire were tardy in enlisting in the royal service, Strange began to enrol Catholics who, a few days later, received the king's permission to re-arm. Knowing that these troops were intended for an attack on the town, the Parliamentary leaders decided to prepare Manchester



COLONEL ROSWORM

to withstand an attack. John Rosworm, a German military engineer, who had settled in Manchester in the spring of that year, was engaged to defend the town during the next six months for the sum of £30. Payment was guaranteed by twenty-two gentlemen, at whose head was Robert Heyrick, the Warden. Rosworm seems to have been a capable officer who served the town well and deserved much better treatment than he received, especially in the matter of his pay after his appointment was extended so that he remained in the service of the town for more than six years.

As soon as he received his appointment in September,

Rosworm began to erect such defences as were possible. Posts and chains were fixed to keep out the enemy's horse and mud walls were erected at the ends of the streets. The Old Bridge was protected by posts and chains but its steep slope made it difficult to attack from the Salford side, whilst it was covered by sharpshooters in the churchyard and even in the church tower. Broxap says, "No gates are mentioned in 1642". But the Constables' Accounts 2/124 contain this entry: "pd Percival for work done to the gates at Market Street Lane end 9s. 6d."; and Earwaker adds, "These gates were part of the defences put up by Rosworm."

Owing to the unsettled times and the outbreak of the Civil War, the meetings of the Court Leet appear to have been suspended. There are no Court Leet Records from May 5, 1641, to October 19, 1647, so that the Constables' Accounts for these years are the only documents of the Court Leet available for historical purposes. It is strange that they contain no references to the siege.

The inspiring spirit of resistance was William Bourne, one of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, whose fiery eloquence and ardent zeal made him the most popular minister of the time. He was in almost every respect a Presbyterian, bitterly opposed to the royal prerogative and authority of the bishops. Wearing his Geneva "black gown" instead of the surplice, he frequently omitted the Prayer Book services and the only remedy of devout Anglicans was to walk out of church.

At this time the town comprised about eighteen streets clustered round the Old Church, with four main points of approach. Deansgate, which ended just beyond King Street, was defended by Captain Bradshaw (not the Regicide) facing Lord Strange who occupied Alport Lodge, which stood on the east side of Deansgate between Peter Street and Great Bridgewater Street. The Old Bridge was defended by Rosworm facing Lord Molyneux. Captain Radcliffe, who commanded the militia numbering about 1,000, held the top of Market Street Lane. Captain Booth was posted in Long Millgate, Lieutenant Beswick in Hunt's Bank, and in Shudehill a company of resolute soldiers without any commander. The only gun covered Bradshaw's position which was really the most vulnerable.

It had been arranged that the signal for the approach of the Royalists should be ringing the bells backwards and this occur-

red at 9 a.m. on Sunday morning September 25, which was church time and the townsmen were called out during the sermon. Two envoys were sent to Lord Strange, who demanded entrance to the town and billets for 100 soldiers. He promised to respect life and property if these were conceded. Of course, these requests were refused and the Royalist forces began to prepare their positions for attack. The *Perfect Diurnall* gives the attackers as 2,000 foot, 300 horse, and six pieces of ordnance, and these numbers seem the most reasonable.

About noon, the Royalists began to shoot bullets of 4 lb., 6 lb. and 8 lb. weight, but did little damage except to the houses. At the same time they made a determined attack on the end of Deansgate, where they set fire to some buildings. Under cover of the smoke which blew over the town they effected an entrance, but the wind changed and they were driven back with some loss. Later in the afternoon an assault was made on the Old Bridge, but this was easily repulsed as the Royalists had to charge uphill. In the evening both divisions withdrew, though some firing continued during the night from houses at the foot of the bridge. The Royalists are said to have lost 120 men against only three of the defenders. These numbers seem very disproportionate, but the statement is made in the Sutherland MSS, which seem the most reliable in the matter of numbers.

On Tuesday the struggle was renewed. The only movement of cavalry during the siege was an attempt to enter the town by either Market Street or Shudehill, or both, but this was repulsed and several prisoners were taken. At 5 o'clock Lord Strange called a parley. His decreasing demands heartened the townsmen, and next day his requests were refused. But the defenders were not quite so united as their defiance would suggest. Colonel Holland, the Governor, and many others wished to come to terms as ammunition was running out and the country volunteers were becoming restive owing to Royalist plundering of their property.

On Thursday the Royalists suffered a serious loss by the death of Captain Standish. According to Heyrick, he was killed whilst urging on his men in an attack on the Old Bridge. But another account says he was slain by a bullet from the tower of the church, as he stood in a doorway in Salford. From the end of Deansgate, the defenders sallied forth and, after an hour's fighting, the Royalists were defeated. On this day Lord

Strange, by the death of his father, became Earl of Derby.

Only desultory firing continued during the next day. At the Deansgate end, the Royalists began to dig a trench as if they intended to begin a blockade; but it was only a pretence, for their forces were so scattered that they durst not come within pistol shot of the town.

Finally, on Saturday morning, Lord Derby made proposals for an exchange of prisoners, the Royalists making up their number by seizing non-combatants from the surrounding district. He also stipulated that plundering should cease. To this the townsmen retorted that they had not plundered at all but that £15,000 would not make good all the damage they had suffered. So quickly did the besiegers retreat that Rosworm was able to send out a party to capture arms and baggage that they left behind. Sunday October 2 was observed as a day of public thanksgiving. Having waited until Monday and then, assuming that the danger was at an end for the present, the out-town volunteers returned to their own homes.

The combatants came to close quarters very little except during the first day of the siege and the most accurate estimate of the losses seems to be 220 killed and 85 prisoners on the Royalist side; while the defenders' casualties were only 19.

Weather was in favour of the townsmen, who could obtain shelter easily, whilst the Royalists were for the most part out in the open. It was a very wet week and the discomfort of their position served partly to demoralize the besiegers. Communication between the two divisions of the Royalists was very difficult for there was no bridge between Crossford Bridge at Stretford and the Old Bridge, guarded by Rosworm, at Smithy Bank. As the Irwell rises rapidly in flood, the ford at Cornbrook would be submerged.

Writing to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on December 21, 1642, Arthur Trevor pays this tribute:— "Manchester is the very London of these parts, the liver that sends blood into all the countries (i.e. counties) thereabouts, and until it is cleansed or obstructed I cannot imagine there can be any safety in this neighbourhood."

In October Parliament voted its thanks to the town. The siege of Manchester had an importance quite out of proportion to its duration. Had not the town stood very firmly for Parliament, the whole county would have passed under the control



of the Cavaliers and, with this as a base, the king might have changed the whole course of the war. Although suffering little structural damage, the material loss both in trade and manufactures was found to be considerable both in the town itself and in the surrounding country. Poverty and unemployment had increased while the support of the garrison was a heavy charge on the townsmen, who had received no aid from national funds. Parliament therefore ordered a subscription to be collected on their behalf (but with little result), and that the garrison should be paid out of the sequestered estates of those who had remained faithful to the royal cause.

Broxap adversely criticized the ninth mural, which is incorrectly named "Bradshaw's Defence of Manchester". He also pointed out some of the many errors which were in the official description and which, to this day, are repeated by the Town Hall guides. Captain Bradshaw was neither in charge of the defence of the town nor was he posted on the Old Bridge. This was Colonel Rosworm who, presumably, is shown firing his musket from a gun-rest. Nor was Bradshaw the Regicide. His name was John, whereas the Captain was Robert and came from a Bolton family. Lord Strange's name was James not Robert. But Broxap was wrong in saying that the burning buildings were at the end of Deansgate for in addition to these, the barns of Alexander Green, near the Old Bridge, were set on fire.

To these, I would add two other errors in the official description. The yeoman who left £30 towards the chapel on Salford Bridge was Thomas del Bothe, not del Roche and the gentleman unhorsed was Lord Molyneux of Sefton, not Montague; though this is more likely to be artist's licence than historical fact, or it may be meant to represent Captain Standish, the most active Royalist at this point, who was killed by a bullet. Broxap concludes bitterly:

Rosworm and Colonel Holland, the Governor, are not even mentioned in this account. Either end of Deansgate during the siege would have made an excellent subject for Mr. Madox Brown but surely, making all allowance for artistic licence, it is a pity that he should have produced such a jumble as this picture represents.

In November 1642, to guard against any attempt at a surprise, the fortifications of the town were strengthened, four



### NINTH MURAL PAINTING

Defence of Salford Bridge by Col. Rosworm, 1642

The first house, shown on the left, stood end on to the bridge, but set back out of line, and was used as a guardhouse. The artist brought this plain end forward and, unwarrantably, added pillars, making it look like a church door. This led R. Falkner to draw his erroneous sketch showing the chapel on the Salford bank instead of, where it really was, on the pillar where the first embrasure is shown beyond the watch-house

brass cannon being received, and the garrison increased. Some of the timber from Alport Lodge was used to strengthen the defences. A magazine was also built in the Market Place and this remained until the Court Leet ordered its removal in 1651.

Manchester troops took part in several engagements in the surrounding districts, some successful, others not. On January 12, 1643, Sir Thomas Fairfax made Manchester his headquarters but was soon succeeded by Sir John Seaton, who used part of the garrison to retake Preston. But the activities of a spy, named Peter Heywood, greatly hampered local efforts.

Rosworm's contract for the defence of the town was now extended. Later he protested bitterly about his niggardly treatment, but it seems that his account of the part he played and his claims were greatly exaggerated. From his own account it almost appears that he received nothing at all, whereas he was paid £135 between December 1644 and July 1647, which is not far short of the amount due. The Constables' Accounts, May 16, 1648, give details of "A Lay for two quarters pay for Mr. John Rosworm", of which he received £28 19s. 10d. The list of inhabitants at this date appears to be a very complete one.

Early in 1644, Fairfax was back in Manchester and the garrison took part in the siege of Lathom House. Prince Rupert's advance caused their retirement, though he tried in vain to win over Rosworm. Fairfax now reinforced the town with a regiment of Scottish foot. By September, distress in the town and the county was so great that collections were made in the churches throughout the kingdom. Money sent to Manchester was distributed under the direction of Warden Heyrick. Of £200 sent from London it is surprising to read that £55 was used for the repair of the chapel adjoining the choir of the parish church and the placing of "some English books there for Public benefit". At the Court Leet in April 1656 the balance of £40 was ordered to be handed over for the same purpose.

Suffering and distress in the town were aggravated by the outbreak of plague in 1645 and the death rate increased sixfold. No one was permitted to enter or leave the town and the market was discontinued. Rosworm gives this description of the pestilence:

The summer after Prince Rupert's diversion, it pleased God to lay his heavy hand of plague upon us which left no part unvisited becoming indeed, such a sad object, that our very



miseries were as great a guard to us against our enemies, as the cries of them were strong for a public commiseration from our friends. The pestilence in a little time grew so hot, that it not only occasioned most of the richest men to depart with their whole families, but moved also the Warden and the other ministers to desire me with my family to withdraw not far from the town that, if occasion arose I might readily serve the dangers and extremities which might befall it from the enemy. I think few men would have blamed me.

But Rosworm stuck to his post. Special collections to relieve the distress were made in the churches of London and Westminster and £1,000 was voted by Parliament. The ordinance, dated December 9, 1645, says: "Most of the inhabitants living upon trade are not only ruined in their estates, but many families are like to perish from want, who cannot sufficiently be relieved by that miserable wasted county". It seems strange that this grant should not have been paid at once, when it was so much wanted for relief of the needy. But in October 1648, it was still unpaid and the Court Leet ordered an assessment of £20 on the town in order that "an able and Careful man bee sent to sollicite the business at the parliament". Plundering was prevented by Rosworm, with a small body of musketeers, as the bulk of the garrison had withdrawn outside the fortifications. Edward, the first of the Byroms of that name, discovered a plot to betray the town in time for Rosworm to frustrate it. Rosworm's narrative is here very inaccurate. Whether or not the Royalists under Rupert attempted to gain Manchester by treachery, they certainly made no approach on the town, but keeping to the west, they moved by way of Barlow Moor and Trafford Park towards Bolton. Thus ended Manchester's share in the Civil War.

In 1646 an ordinance was passed converting the county into a province under the Presbyterian system of church government and the Church of England was suppressed. Richard Johnson was deprived of his Fellowship and ignominiously led through the streets because he remained faithful to his Anglican and Royalist beliefs. Warden Heyrick presided over the first Manchester Presbyterian Classis, held in February 1647. The Minutes of these proceedings are published by the Chetham Society. Heyrick was ably assisted by Richard Hollingworth, whose labours during the plague had been greatly appreciated. He was the author of an early history of Manchester.



Another religious distraction was that George Fox began preaching in 1647 and aroused much opposition. Later his followers were dubbed "Quakers" by a justice at Derby who, when committing Fox to prison, was admonished to "tremble at the word of the Lord".

Ascendancy of the Presbyterians was short-lived. The Independents, whose political opinions were largely republican, increased so rapidly that, in 1647, Heyrick and his supporters forwarded an address to Parliament asking it to suppress schismatics; but in vain.

In Allen's papers, Bundle A, Chetham's Library, there is a letter which reads: "Mr. Greene, Commende is Mr. Chetham, is our new Sheriffe, I pray you lett this enclosed letter bee sent forthwith by a careful messenger to Clayton to him for it is a matter of importance from Parliament. November 28, 1648".

This is the first positive evidence that there was an official postmaster in Manchester. The letter is addressed to Mr. Alexander Green, the Postmaster of Manchester, and marked *1s. 6d.* Alexander Green kept the Eagle and Child Inn, situated where Exchange Street now is. In 1711 it became the Coffee House of that name, and later was known as the Old Coffee House. Mr. Chetham is, of course, the famous Humphrey. The *1s. 6d.* marked reminds us that it was custom for the receiver of a letter to pay the postage. This was called "loosing it from the post". Postal charges for a single-sheet letter were: under 80 miles *2d.*; up to 140 miles *4d.*; above that *6d.* Two-sheet letters were double the above charges. If larger, the cost was *6d.*, *9d.*, and *1s.* an ounce for the same distances.

## 16. *The Commonwealth and Manchester 1650*

1649-1660

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ON February 6, 1649, the proclamation forbidding anyone being styled King of England was read in the Market Place. New sequestrators of Church property were appointed and the revenues of the Collegiate Church were seized. Warden Heyrick refused to quit peaceably and a company of soldiers broke into the church. Documents seized from the Chapter Chest are said to have been sent to London, where they perished in the Great Fire.

The Court Leet Records of April 8, 1673, contain the following entry:

Whereas there was an order made the 5th of October 1669 and also another order made the 8th of October 1672 for Surveying all lands and tenements within this Town and Township of Manchester by reason of the unequal taxing of the Inhabitants and others and Complaints made to both the Jurys. The persons therein named for Surveying of the said lands and tenements within the Said Town have according to and in pursuance of the Said last mentioned order made a Survey of the Said Lands to the best of their information.

Therefore we of this present Jury do order that no miselayers assessors, overseers, Churchwardens or Supervisors of the highways or any other Shall Tax or assess any man's real estate But by the said Book of Survey which they are required to observe as their rule.

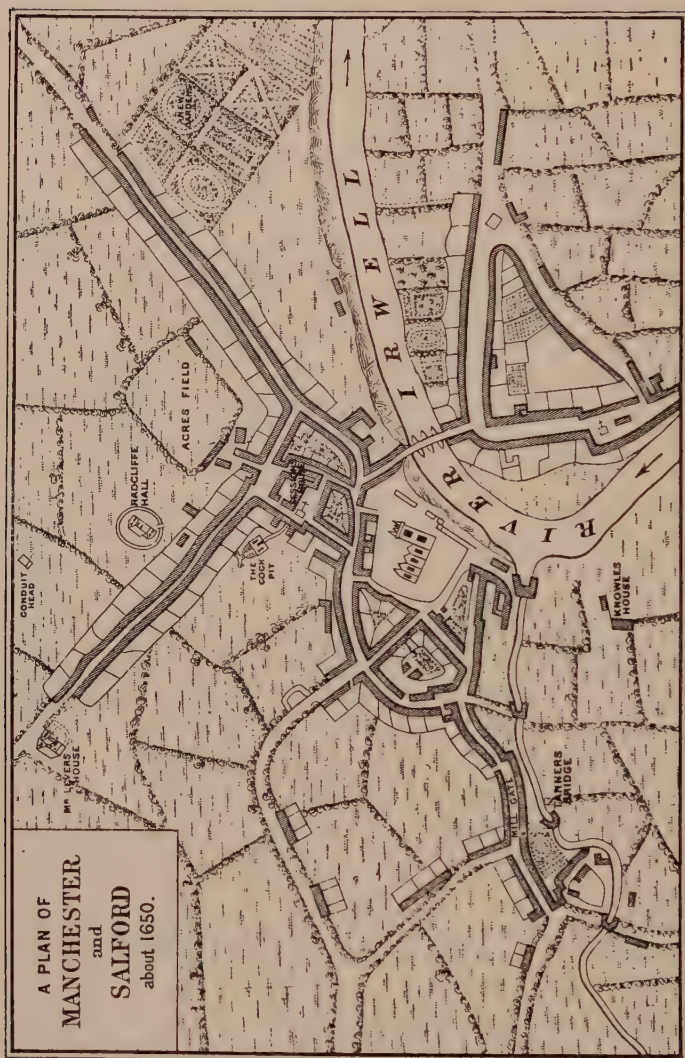
Earwaker notes: "As far as I am aware, this survey does not now exist. It would be of much value and interest if it could be found."

This survey appears to be the origin of the map so frequently reprinted as "Manchester 1650", which was first published as an inset on Casson and Berry's map of 1746. As Roeder says:

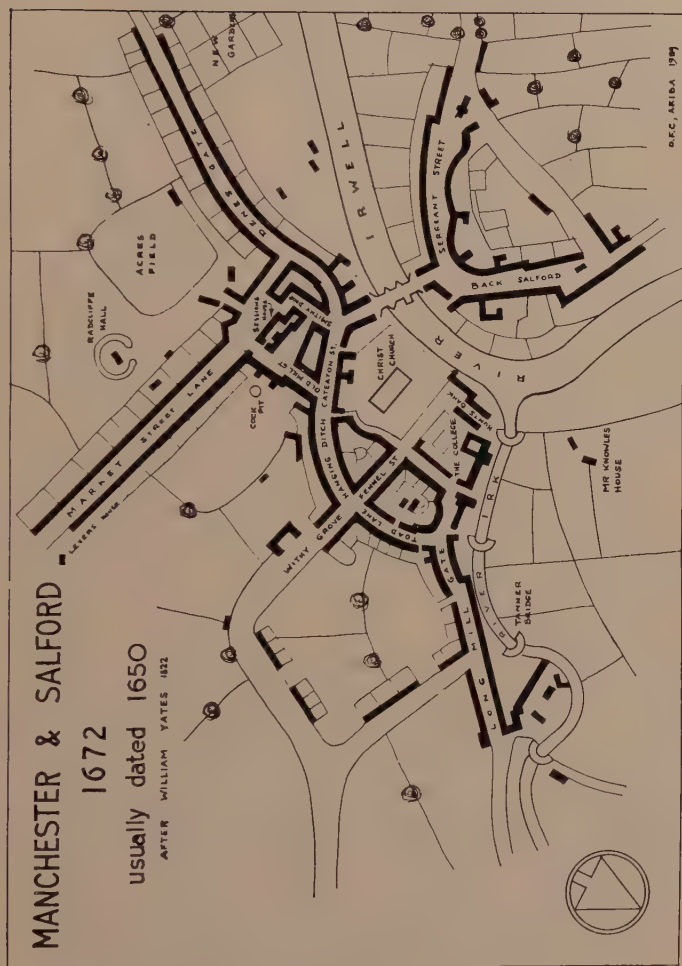
It was mere conjecture on Berry's part when he spoke of the plan having been made about 1650 and my belief is that his plan, drawn 10" to a mile, and measuring 5" x 8" is merely a bad or rough copy of the lost original, exhibited before the Court in 1673. It is, therefore, to be assumed that it was actually made between 1669 and 1673.

There seem to have been two copies of this plan, one in Chetham's Library and the other in the possession of William Yates, a local collector. Of the map in Chetham's Library Dr. Leigh says: "It is printed on soft paper, and the lettering is such as was common in the middle of the 17th century. The explanations are placed down the right-hand side and not at the bottom, as in Mr. Palmer's Map. It has probably been cut out of a larger sheet." This map has been lost and no trace of it could be found in 1904 when Roeder wrote: "Berry's plan is very faulty. It seems to have been copied stealthily and in a hurry by somebody who had access to it. On examination you will find that part of Millgate, the whole block of the College, the Sessions House, the block between Smithy Door and Deansgate, are part wrong and misleading." He might also have added that Berry showed the Old Bridge over the Irwell with three piers instead of two. This incorrect map was reprinted, as an inset, on Laurent's spurious map of 1793 and, considering the fulsome praise of his ability, one would have thought he ought to have noticed the inaccuracies if and when he surveyed the actual buildings. Berry's map is reproduced in V.C.H. 4/174 and by Saintsbury in his *History*. The map is re-oriented, but repeating the same errors, in Harland's *Court Leet Records* (Chet. Soc. O. S. 63). Swindells in *Manchester Streets and Men*, 1/148, and Reilly in his *History* reprints the same errors but with the map re-oriented.

The second map of 1650, which Roeder considered "the only genuine copy of the original", was reproduced by Palmer in his *Siege of Manchester*. On this the College buildings were accurately placed and the Old Bridge shown with two piers. This correct map was reproduced on Swire's map of 1824; by Roeder in L & C. A. S. 21; by Everett in his *Panorama*; by Croston in his edition of Baines's *Lancashire*; and was re-oriented as the frontispiece for the reprint of Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.







In February 1912, Mr. H. Yates, a draughtsman with Mather and Platt's, commenced the model (based on Palmer's copy of the plan), and completed it in August 1914. On the model "The College" is correctly placed and the bridge shown with two piers with the chapel on one of them, so that Berry's mistakes are avoided.

The model is 7' 6" long by 5' 0" wide, and represents an area of 197½ acres, every detail being worked out to scale with exactness.

All the elevations in the model have been taken from ordnance survey plans. 393 buildings have been reconstructed and in the representation of the Old Church (the Cathedral of today), a delicate and beautiful piece of work, there are no fewer than 336 separate pieces of wood. In harmony of colouring the result is a perfect reproduction in miniature of old Manchester and Salford, with their quaint gabled buildings, picturesque old halls, green lanes, trees and fields, spacious gardens, and the clear winding rivers, Irwell and Irk. (Loudon.)

A handbill advertising "A Compleat Map of the Towns . . . to this present day", 1751, sold by J. Berry, says: "A description of the inhabitants, in the plan of 1650, is printed on a paper by itself and given gratis to the purchasers of the above map." Aiken and Harland both quote from this description. "The people in and about the town are said to be in general the most industrious in their callings of any in the northern parts of this kingdom." A further eulogy they both omitted is included in Berry's description of the town. "They had a very good character given them about 100 years ago in an old plan of the place; there it is said of them; 'Want and Waste are strangers to them, ruin and disorders are foreigners from them; courtesy and charity are inhabitants with them; civility and religion dwell among them.'" The account of Manchester continues:

The town is a mile in length, the streets open and clean kept, and the buildings good. There are four market places (probably including the fish market and apple market), two market days weekly (Tuesday and Saturday) and three fairs yearly (one at Easter at Knott Mill, another called Acres or Akers Fair, held in Acres Field on the Eve, day and morrow of St. Matthew, September 20, 21, and 22, and the third at Whitsuntide, in Salford. There was also a fourth called "Dirt Fair" held in Salford on November 17). The trade is not inferior to that of many cities in the kingdom chiefly consisting in woollen friezes,

S.

W.

E.

N.

YATES'S MODEL OF THE PLAN OF MANCHESTER



fustians, sack cloths, mingled stuffs, caps, inkles, tapes, points, etc; whereby not only the better sort of men are employed but also the very children by their own labour can maintain themselves. There are besides all kinds of foreign merchandise bought and returned by the merchants of the town, amounting to the sum of many thousands of pounds weekly. There are in the town forty-eight subsidy men (wealthy enough to contribute to the royal subsidies) besides a great number of burgesses, and four quarter sessions are held in it. The town is governed by a steward, a head borough (boroughreeve) and two constables, with a deputy constable and several inferior officers; and great commendation is given to the regular and orderly manner in which things are conducted.

About the year 1650, according to this plan, the town of Manchester consisted of about fifteen streets (in 1644 it is said to have had ten), viz, the two Market Steads or Places, Market Stead Lane, St. Mary's Gate, Old Millgate or Mealgate, Long Millgate, Milners or Millers Lane, Deansgate, Smithy Door, Smithy Bank, Cateaton Street, Hanging Ditch, and Toad Lane, Withy Grove (the Old Withing Greave), Shudehill, Fennel Street, and Hunt's Bank. The town was chiefly confined within a little circle round the old Collegiate Church, having three long streets extending into the surrounding fields—Long Millgate in a northerly direction, Deansgate southward, and Market Stead Lane stretching eastwards. The whole of the ground between the two market places and Smithy Door was occupied by a building of irregular shape, having an internal courtyard, and an entrance by a gate from the Market Place; and this building upon the site of the old Booths, where the Court Leet and Baron were held for centuries, was in 1650 called the Session House or Court House. Its upper room became known as the Long Room and, later, was used as an auction room for some years. The Irwell had then only one bridge across it (and this was the only communication between Manchester and Salford) called Salford Bridge, or the old Bridge, at the foot of Cateaton Street and Smithy Bank. The Irk had four small bridges over it: one at Hunt's Bank to Strangeways; a second at the end of Toad Lane (Mill Brow); a third at the end of Milners Lane (now Miller Street) and named in the plan Tanner's Bridge, occupying the site of the present Ducie Bridge; and the fourth on the site of the present Scotland Bridge, leading from Long Millgate to Red Bank.



Between Market Stead Lane and Deansgate (neither of them so long as at present) were five or six fields, one of which, marked “the Acres Field”, shows that the old church of St. Mary’s had disappeared and that only two buildings flanked the fields. This was the site of the Acres Fair, and it is now covered by St. Ann’s Church and Square and adjoining streets. In the large field east of it is the house called Radcliffe Hall, with its surrounding moat, somewhere about the site of the Cross Street Chapel; formerly named Pool Fold, where was the ducking pool for scolds, etc., before it was removed to the Daub Holes or Infirmary Pond. In the field still further east stood the Fountain which supplied the Conduit with water, and gave its name to Fountain Street. Near the south-east corner of the plan is Mr. Lever’s house, which gave its name to a street in prolongation of Market Street called Lever’s Row, afterwards Piccadilly.



LEVER'S HOUSE

Mr. Lever’s house stood on part of the site of the White Bear Inn (now Barratt’s shoe shop), a little back from the line of the present street. Between Market Stead Lane and Withy Grove were two fields, in one of which, near the angle formed by the former street and the Market Place, stood the old Cock Pit, approached by a covered way from the Market Place and on the site of a part of Cock Pit Hill. In Shudehill there seem to

have been on the north side two blocks each of three dwellings or burgages, and on the south side near the present Sugar Lane and Brown Street a single house. The Shudehill and its lane extended from Withy Grove to Milners Lane and within the space enclosed between these streets, Long Millgate and Toad Lane, were three large fields. On the south side of Milners Lane were five dwellings or burgages, and in that part of Long Millgate between Milners Lane and Ashley Lane three others. Only one is represented in Ashley Lane, whilst those along the other streets are not always distinct. It is observable, however, that dotted lines behind the ranges of houses seem to denote the back yards, or "backsides" as they were called in the Old Court Leet Records, and if these may be taken to be boundaries between burgage and burgage, there would seem to have been in 1650 ten or eleven burgages on the north-east side of Market Stead Lane, and about the same number on the south-west side of that street. On the south-east side of Deansgate were ten, on the north-west side ten burgages. The only house in the fields north of the river Irk (now Strangeways) was one marked in the plan as "Knowles house" (not Mr. Knowles' but the "Knolls house"), as the Walker's Croft on the north of the Irk is stated to be "the Knowles". Between the Alport end of Deansgate and the river were six gardens styled "The New Gardens, which appear to have been large and to have extended along that part of Deansgate from Bridge Street to Hardman Street, the north corner of one garden coming nearly to the bank of the Irwell" (Harland). There is another description of the town at this time by Dr. Leigh in the appendix to Procter's *Bygone Manchester*.

Warden Heyrick had always been loyal to the monarchy and had strongly protested against the proposal for a government without a king. Growing dissatisfaction with the excesses of the extremists inclined him to return to the Church of England, whose liturgy he seems to have favoured. Heyrick and Hollingworth were arrested on a charge of hostility and disaffection to the government, charged with being implicated in Love's plot for the restoration of Charles II, and narrowly escaped sentence of death. Largely through the influence of Lord Delamere, after payment of a heavy fine, both were allowed to return home.

Hollingworth has this note for 1652: "The towne dismantelled; the walls throwne down; the gates carried away." This seems to have been entirely voluntary on the part of the

inhabitants and the authorities of the town, after their frail military works had existed for ten years.

The Court Leet Records, 3/80, contain a reference to the purchase of a dwelling house in Deansgate, evidently confiscated Royalist property, from the "States of the Nation," i.e., the Commonwealth.

A second suggestion for providing a library for the town came from the Rev. John Prestwich, third son of Edmund Prestwich of Hulme. Probably when on a visit to Manchester, Prestwich promised his library to his fellow-townsmen, for a very flattering letter was written to him in the name of the town and to this he replied on April 19, 1653. He promised to send the first parcel of books as soon as a convenient room was ready. At this time the old Jesus Chapel in the parish church was roofless and in a ruinous condition. Henry Pendleton, who had inherited it, handed over the chapel to feoffees among whom were Thomas Prestwich (John's brother) and Humphrey Chetham. In 1657, Edmund Lees was appointed the first librarian. A rate was levied in 1659, for restoring the chapel and for other repairs. Payments received under this assessment are printed in the Constables' Accounts 2/App. VII. Another levy on the inhabitants, in the same year, made on behalf of the poor, is in App. VI. The books of the "English Library" (as it came to be called), "having been neglected, had fallen into decay, so that latterly nothing remained but the desks, a few tattered books, and remnants of loose chains". The fragments were removed to Chetham's Library whence they went into the hands of secondhand booksellers. Their condition and number were described in the *Manchester Guardian* of July 28, 1847, p. 8, col. 3.

In 1653, Colonel Worsley of Platt, who had been promoted to the command of Cromwell's own regiment of foot, expelled the remaining members of the Long Parliament and, on the command of the Lord General to "Take away that bauble", removed the Mace from the House of Commons. Cromwell, desiring to strengthen his government and wishing to confer a dignity on the town to which the Commonwealth owed so much, issued a writ to the High Sheriff of Lancashire, requiring the burgesses to return a member to the House of Commons.

Colonel Worsley was nominated as Manchester's first member of Parliament in the first Protectorate Parliament, 1654.

The Indenture of his appointment is printed in the Court Leet Records 4/117 and in Booker's *Birch*. After five months, this Parliament voted Cromwell the title of Lord Protector of the three kingdoms and was dissolved. Worsley was now promoted major-general and appointed in charge of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire. But he died in 1656, at the early age of 35.

By the early death of Worsley, Cromwell sustained an irreparable loss. Worsley was a great man of energy, courage, and decision; and by his shrewdness and calm judgment, as well as by his skill as a commander, he seemed the best fitted to succeed to the Protectorate had Providence willed that such a form of government should be prolonged in England. (Croston.)

His statue, on the Town Hall, at the corner of Albert Square and Princess Street, shows him in complete armour and wearing the high boots that marked the time of Cromwell. He is depicted in the act of speaking. Probably this was intended to represent him in the House of Commons.

A Survey of Church lands was made in the time of Oliver Cromwell. From the MS. now at Lambeth Palace, the following account is taken.

Wee doe ypresent, that there is a parish church within Manchester town, in the County of Lancaster and that there belongeth unto the said church severall messuages and gardens, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, situated lying and being in the Deanes' Gate in Manchester aforesaid; and allso severall messuages and tenements, with the appurtenances situate, lying and being in Newton and Kirkmansholme and elsewhere within the same parish, of the yearly rental of fforty six pounds, or neare thereabouts, formerly paid as ancient yearly rent, besides the increase of ffines, unto the Warden and Fellows of the Colledge in Manchester, until about a year last past, the same was paid by order, and that the tythes and rents for tythes within the said parish have been and are estimated to be, one year with another, of the yearly value of ffive hundred and ffifty pounds, or neare thereabouts, the charges of innung and collecting the same being deducted, and that Mr Richard Hollingworth, one of the ffellowes and Mr. William Walker, Minister of the gospel, are the present pastors and ministers of the same church, whoe are very godly preachers, and have for divers years last past received some parts thereof, but the greatest part thereof hath been and is detayned from them of late, which proffits and tythes so detayned remain in the hands of some of the inhabitants of the same parish.



Humphrey Chetham died on October 12, 1653, and was buried in the small chapel at the east end of the Collegiate Church. During his lifetime he had maintained a number of poor boys and in 1648 had opened negotiations for the purchase of the College to house them. These negotiations fell through and it was left to his executors to carry out his intentions. By 1656 the boys were first lodged in the old manor house of the barons of Manchester and "Chetham's Hospital and Library" came into being. The eighth mural painting records "Chetham's Life Dream". In the painting Chetham is represented as studying his will in the garden of the College, which in imagination he has peopled with his boys and their schoolmaster.

In addition to the £7,000 as endowment for the school, Chetham also left £100 for a building to be used as a public library and £1,000 for the purchase of books. The trustees decided to house this library in a wing of the hospital buildings and here it still remains. Of the £200 he bequeathed for godly English libraries for certain churches, Manchester received £70 and the books so obtained went to the Prestwich Library. Chetham's statue on the Town Hall, at the corner of Albert Square and Princess Street, is sculptured in the costume of the period, wearing the embroidered skull-cap in which he is generally depicted. He holds an unrolled parchment, his will establishing the charity, in his right hand and in the left a model of the early building.

Richard Radcliffe had taken an active part in Manchester on the side of Parliament during the Civil War, his name as Captain and subsequently Major Radcliffe being frequently met with. In 1656, he was nominated as Manchester's second Member of Parliament. He lived in the building known as Pool Fold Hall and possessed other property in the town. One of these, the black-and-white building which still stands in the Shambles, he leased to the second Edward Byrom on May 1, 1657. Byrom also obtained a stall for selling salt from Richard Neild. So far as is known this is the first record of such a stall in Manchester. The original lease of this now in my possession is published in my *Byroms of Manchester*, Vol. I.

Manchester a Town of great antiqu: from main, a British word wh: signifieth a Stone. It is seated upon a stony hill, and beneath the Town there are most famous quarries of stone. It farre excelleth the Townes lying abt it, for the beautiful shew it

carrieth, for resort unto it & for cloathing; in regard also of the Mercate place, the fair church & Colledge. John Bradford, the famous Martyr, was born here. (Leigh.)

At this period there arose a slogan that was to endure for nearly a century: "Down with the Rump". Historically the "Rump" dates back to December 7, 1648, when Colonel Pride excluded the Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons and admitted only fifty-three Independents afterwards known as "The Rump". These voted that Charles I should be brought to trial for treason against Parliament. Clement Walker in his *History of Independency*, 1649, described it as "This fagge end, this Rump of a Parliament with Maggotts in it". But the term did not pass into popular use until the days of Richard Cromwell when a Major-General Brown used it at a public meeting. From that time it was used as an opprobrious title for any opponent. Particularly it was used by the Jacobites against the early Hanoverians and in anticipation of the coming of Bonnie Prince Charlie.

#### The Original Market Street.

Modern Market Street was always called Market Stead Lane or Market Street Lane. It appears as such on the maps c. 1650 and in Mrs. Raffald's First Directory, 1772. Old Deeds and the Court Leet Records were always careful to say "near" or "abutting on" the Flesh Shambles and gave the situation of burgages as Markettstreete or Markettstidd or Market place

1558. The will of Richard Siddall of Slade:- "Also I do assign and give the shop which I have in the M'keth Strete with the appurtenances." (Booker. *Birch*. p. 125. C. L. R. 1/10).

The following are all from the Court Leet Records:-

1609. "One Messuage or Burgage in a certain Streete called the Markett-streete or Markettstidd". (3/63.)

1623. William Radcliffe purchased:- "one Messuage or Burgage in the Markett Place or Markett-street." (3/72).

1629. "Messuage &c in the Market-stid or Market-place *abutting* on the Flesh Shambles" (3/323n).

1630. "A shop, cellar and chambers *near* the Flesh Shambles, in Manchester, were settled on George Tipping." (3/209n).

1632. "A certain Messuage or Burgage with th'appurtenances scituate standinge and beinge in a certaine Streete called the Marketstreete or Markettstidd." (3/199).

1656. A messuage or burgage in the certain street there called the Markett street or Markett stidd. (4/175).

Earwaker's Index, has:- "Marketstead or Marketstreet," then "Marketstead or Marketstreet lane."

## *17. The Restoration*

1660-1688

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THE Restoration of Charles II was received with joy in Manchester and a day of public thanksgiving was observed. Warden Heyrick, who had always supported the monarchy and liturgical worship, again accepted the restored Prayer Book. It says much for the Christian fortitude and forbearance of Richard Johnson, the ejected Anglican Fellow, that he was able to return and work peaceably with the other members of the Chapter. The last Presbyterian Classis met on August 14, and the Chapter was summoned again on December 16, 1660. One result of the Restoration was that Manchester lost its Member of Parliament.

Charles II's coronation was celebrated in the town with great rejoicing on April 23, 1661. Major John Byrom, who had suffered greatly in His Majesty's service, and Nicholas Mosley, with their armed companies, attended service at the Collegiate Church, where a thoroughly Royalist sermon was preached by the Warden. The Conduit ran with wine instead of water and there were bonfires and fireworks. William Heawood, Steward of the Court Leet, gives a vivid description of these rejoicings.

At the Court Leet held on October 7, 1661, the Oath of Allegiance to Charles II was taken by 582 persons. This is the first list of townsmen to appear in these records and the second of such lists to be preserved.

In 1662 the Act of Uniformity required all who ministered in the Church of England to use the Prayer Book and to have received ordination by the bishop. Although Warden Heyrick was qualified in both respects, he refused to subscribe to the Act but was allowed to retain his office. Henry Newcome had intended to conform but dallied too long and then seceded. It is not correct to speak of him as ejected because he had never been elected a Fellow and, as he had been rector of Gawsorth

before coming to Manchester, there was no bar to prevent him conforming. A rare instance of toleration on the part of the Chapter is evidenced by the fact that, even afterwards, he was allowed to preach in the Collegiate Church.

Fuller gives this description of Manchester smallwares :

Other commodities made in Manchester are so small in themselves and various in their kinds, they will fill the shop of an Haberdasher of smallwares. Being, therefore, too many for me to reckon up or remember, it will be the safest way to wrap them all together in some Manchester Ticking, and to fasten them with the Pins, or tie them with Tape, and also to bind them about with Points and Laces, all made in the same place.

Appendix II, volume VI, of the Court Leet Records contains a list of the writings in the Boroughreeve's Chest from 1663 to 1725 and among them is mentioned "The originall Charter of the Towne", i.e., that of 1301. This document is now in the muniment room of the Town Hall.

Newcome in his Diary, March 5, 1664, says: "Just as we were at supper, a chamber in the brick building fell and bore down two more floors into the cellar and two men fell with it and were sorely hurt but alive and got out". The new type of building would seem to be not very reliable. This brick house was in Deansgate and six years earlier the owners had been ordered to fence the cellar because it was dangerous to the townspeople. At the next October Court, it was ordered that the new owners should do suit and service, so that damage must have been repaired.

An interesting glimpse of the life of the small seventeenth-century town, still small enough for only a shilling to be paid for taking account of the names of all persons above sixteen years of age by the bishop's order, is given in the Churchwardens' Accounts for the Manchester parish, taken from a folio MS. now in John Rylands Library. The volume contains the figures of the money raised by Church Levies in the parish, and by the purchase of graves in Manchester churchyard, and its expenditure by the Churchwardens, chiefly on repairs to the church and in maintenance of public worship. It has no relation to their duties as Overseers of the Poor. The details of expenditure made up the largest section of the book. Candles for the winter only required 6s. There are numerous items for the repair of the church walls, tower and gates, the windows and



clock, and for decorating, and some illustrations of current wages and prices are supplied. The ordinary day's wage for workmen was from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* per day; but extra money was usually given for ale. The sexton was paid £1 yearly, but was provided with a gown, and had extra pay for odd jobs. The clerk had 7*s.* 6*d.* each quarter and 10*s.* for keeping the register, £3 10*s.* in all. In 1665, six flaggons (Communion Pewter) cost £4 10*s.* A new ladder cost 7*s.* to 15*s.*, no doubt according to length; a wheelbarrow 6*s.* 9*d.*; a bucket 3*s.* 6*d.*; a spade 3*s.*; a hammer 8*d.* Bell rope cost 6*d.* per lb.; bricks were 1*s.* per hundred.

At William Dugdale's Visitation of Lancashire eight Manchester families registered their descent. All three branches of the Byrom family (at Byrom near Winwick, Salford and Manchester) are given in the returns and among my deeds there is a certified copy of all three pedigrees.

A most unpopular measure was the Hearth Tax, imposed in 1666 to pay the debts of Charles II. It was also known as Chimney Money. The charge was 2*s.* on every hearth or stove. This tax was paid by the occupier, not the landlord. Those who had fewer than three hearths were exempt. As only those with three hearths are given, the total of 1,368 for the town does not give a complete list of the inhabitants. In the Shambles property, Edward Byrom paid on six hearths and widow Bowker on three. Henry Newcome, the Presbyterian minister paid on five. The tax, which produced £200,000 annually, was settled on the king for life and was repealed by William and Mary.

A tax levied on the town by eight several warrants contains a list of the inhabitants in 1666. This is not identical with the list of two years later, but many of the chief names are the same. Although there is no list of "out-burgesses", many of the tenants paid on behalf of their landlords as well as for themselves. Over 700 names are entered under the streets in which they lived, together with the amounts paid.

In 1666, Edward Byrom bought the Shambles property which he had tenanted on lease for the last nine years. From this time, for over 250 years, what is now the Wellington Inn end of the Shambles property remained in the Byrom family. The earlier lease is now in my possession and the purchase deed, badly damaged by "rats", is in the Central Library, having been

replaced by a new set of deeds, drawn up in 1684. These new deeds, together with a letter from Edward Byrom explaining why they were drawn up, are also in my possession.



OLD SHAMBLES

When the postmaster, Alexander Green, died in 1667 there were several candidates for the post. But Jeffrey Aldcroft, of Knutsford, was entrusted with the office by the Earl of Arlington, Postmaster General, where, as we are officially informed, "although living ten miles off, he managed the town's business well and with several hours less delay than before". His appointment appears less surprising when we recollect that Knutsford was the first stage of the crossroad, which turned off at Cranage from the great Holyhead Road to Manchester.

A further step in religious conciliation followed the appointment of the gentle and forbearing Nicholas Stratford as Warden in 1667. There is reason to suppose that under his influence Edward Byrom renounced his Presbyterianism and became an Anglican.

The record of a tax granted to His Majesty in 1668, which imposed the sum of £74 12s. 6d. upon Manchester, gives us the names of the taxable inhabitants arranged under the streets in which they lived. It is printed in the Court Leet Records 5/246 and contains sixteen streets with 404 names.

Edward Byrom, eldest son of the one of the same name

previously mentioned, was apprenticed for seven years to the trade and mystery of a linen-draper, on November 4, 1670. His master was to

find provide and give unto the said Edward Byrom the sonne meate drinke lodgeing apparell cloathes hosen shoes Lynnen and woollen fitt for his degree and calling Dureing all the said terme of Seaven yeares And moreover shall and will pay unto the said Edward Byrom the sonne dureing the said terme of Seaven yeares upon the ffeast of the Nativity of our Lord fflowerpence for his hyre and wages (if it be demanded).

It is to be hoped he did not break the strict terms of his apprenticeship by becoming riotous on this fourpence. This Indenture is now in my possession.

In 1672, the Beadle became a regularly appointed officer of the Court Leet with a fixed wage of "2s. a week and no more", in addition to his gown of office. Baines says that about this time the potato began to be cultivated and was extensively used in Lancashire. No doubt this vegetable soon found its way into Manchester market, but there is no mention of a potato market in the Court Leet Records until 1748 when it was found at Hyde's Cross, where the sellers caused great congestion and inconvenience.

Under the Declaration of Indulgence, published on March 15, 1672, the first licence to preach in his own house was taken out by Henry Newcome. One month later he took out a licence for a barn, preaching there after service-time in the parish church.

By an Act of Parliament passed on August 16, 1672, His Majesty's farthings and halfpence were made current coin; and the same Act prohibited the use of all other pence, halfpence and farthings. This was rendered necessary because there had been a pressing want of small change after the execution of Charles I. Tradesmen began to issue coins of various shapes and sizes of the values named. Their example was soon followed by corporate and other bodies. These coins were called tokens because their issuers promised to redeem them at their nominal value. It is estimated that about 15,000 people and corporate bodies issued and circulated these tokens. Williamson gives a list of those known in Manchester and adds a brief note on each issuer. The John and Martha Rylands of those days have no connection with the modern firm of Rylands Ltd.

John Hartley the younger, of Strangeways, had such a bitter quarrel with his fellow townsmen that a petition was presented to the Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire requesting his dismissal as a Justice of the Peace. At the Court Leet in the previous October, John Alexander and Thomas Shawe had been appointed Constables with Joseph Werden and Ralph Shelmerdine as mislayers. As it was found that John Hartley seemed to be evading his full liability, the new mislayers revised the assessment on his property. Hartley, who already had a grievance against John Alexander over repairs to some property of which Hartley was the landlord, now brought an action against the Constables and mislayers charging them with fraud and confederacy to defraud. The case is an interesting illustration of the method then employed for governing the town and the taxes then raised. In defence of the officials, the petition stated :

That the said Mr. Hartley is a man of contentious turbulent spirritt, for besides the many personall wronges and Injuries done to his neighbours, wch by reason of his power and greatneses as a Justice of peace they dare not seeke to right themselves of, and is a great enemy to publicke concernes, for hee will not pay any layes (though never soe Justly taxed) with quietneses, but with threateninge the officers, and Indictinge severall of them for ye due execuc'on of their office, and nothinge hath beene proved against them.

But the list of persons appended in the *Palatine Notebook*, 3/40 has been shown not to belong to this petition but to one of 1726 to Warden Peploe. To the notes on the list of names, I would add that Joseph Byrom was only fifteen years of age and only recently apprenticed for eight years to Miles Bradshaw. This Indenture dated May 21, 1674, is now in my possession.

In March 1675 Richard Wroe was installed into a Fellowship of the Collegiate Church. It was providential that, at this period, he joined with the Warden in endearing the worship at the Old Church to the mass of the people. The eloquence of "silver-tongued Wroe", disposed the townsmen to acts of charity and benevolence.

A further indication of the increased consideration for others is found in the attention paid to the higher education of girls. There is a letter extant from Richard Ducker to his friend Williamson, dated October 1676, which says: "Your little niece is well and in health, but now she loses some time for want of



more conversation than her father's house affords. 'Tis good company rather than means that teaches manners. There are good boarding schools at York and Manchester, as good as any."

Owing to reports of disaffection in the north, it was deemed advisable, with a view to ascertain how far Manchester was affected, to require the inhabitants to retake an oath of allegiance to the king. Accordingly on Tuesday, April 29, 1679, and following days, the inhabitants attended the Court Leet and took the required oath to the number of 800. Their names were recorded, with little distinction, except that to the names of some of them is affixed the word "Gent". In the printed extract they are arranged alphabetically.

Two new political terms came into use during the agitation to exclude the Romanist Duke of York from the throne. Tories believed in the Divine Right of Kings and supported his accession while Whigs, who denied the right of the royal prerogative to set aside the law and upheld the authority of Parliament, opposed his claim to the throne. In Manchester, the Tories had their headquarters at the "Bull's Head" in the Market Place while the Whigs met at the "Angel" in Market Street.

Edward Byrom's marriage settlement, dated April 17, 1680, made the Shambles property the jointure of his wife Dorothy in lieu of £400, her marriage dowry. This Indenture, which is now in my possession, shows the careful provision that was made for wives, widows and children at this time.

James Chetham, who claims to have eaten eels taken out of thirty different rivers, says: "None that I ever met with were to be compared for goodness (although not large) and deliciousness of taste, to the eels caught in the Irk; unanimously ascribed to the numerousness of fulling mills that stand on that river, and say that the fat, oyl and grease scowered out of the cloth make the eels palatable and fat above other river eels."

On February 6, 1682, the church authorities wisely decided to engage the services of Bernard Schmidt, better known as Father Smith, who had erected the organ in the chapel royal. He was granted £100 for an organ. This was erected on the east side of the loft of the choir screen. The organ was removed later and was destroyed in the 1940 blitz.

In June 1682, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds visited Manchester "famous for that vast quantity of wares and commodities made

there, whereof I was most taken with their inkles (tapes) eighteen several pieces whereof they can weave in the same loom". At this time the town must have had some reputation for female education as, two years later, he writes: "Placed sister Abigail (as the others did their daughters) with Madam Frankland." Later he adds: "I found my dear sister Abigail more indisposed at the boarding school than I expected but satisfied with Madam Frankland's prudence and care. My sister's Physician lent me his transcript of Mr. Hollingworth's MS. *History of Manchester*."



MADAM FRANKLAND'S GIRLS' SCHOOL, LONG MILLGATE

Later High Master's house

Andrew Yarranton, one of the principal writers on trade in this age, spoke of Manchester as being the greatest master of all that it trades in. He deprecates the great quantities of linen thread imported from Germany for use in Manchester.

At the end of the reign Manchester had recovered from the effects of the Civil War. Trade had revived with Holland and other foreign countries and Latin was falling into disuse for commercial purposes and for travel.

which enabled the Trustees to grant building leases on the estates and from this has grown the prosperous Hulme Trust of today.

Edward Byrom of Manchester, linen draper, bought Kersal Cell, Salford, on July 30, 1692. My discovery of the original deeds for this purchase proved that John Byrom, his famous son, could not have been born there as he was already five months old at the time of this transaction. His father lived in the black-and-white building, still standing in the Market Place and today known as the Old Wellington Inn. To mark this discovery of Byrom's birthplace, the present owners, the Cornbrook Brewery Co. Ltd., erected a bronze plaque in December 1955.

A claim by the lord of the manor, Sir Edward Mosley, for a toll of 2*d.* per pack on all goods of the description called Manchester wares, the burgesses only excepted, was rejected by the Court of King's Bench, 1693. The judgment was that every demand to charge a subject with a duty must impart a benefit or recompense to him, or else some reason must be shown why a duty was claimed.

The town was in a state of indignant and feverish excitement on October 17, 1694, being the sixth year of "William the Deliverer". Everyone was discussing the so-called Lancashire Plot, for on this day four of Their Majesties' judges had arrived to try for their lives some of the best blood of Lancashire and Cheshire. These prisoners were accused of treason and plotting in favour of the exiled Stuart king. Crowds thronged the Market Place and surrounded the Sessions House (formerly known as The Booths), where the trial took place on the next day.

We, with our cosmopolitan industrial population, may fail to understand the respect and loyalty which the townsman of those days felt for the Royalist county families and his fury at the thought that some of the best blood of the county, of which he felt himself an integral part, should be shed by a group of outsiders from London. A brief examination proved that the witnesses were men of unreliable character. The chief informer admitted that the alleged plot was an invention of their own, and the counsel for the crown threw up his brief. When the prisoners were acquitted, Manchester went mad with joy and the country was saved from a possible atrocious blood bath.



In the *Thesaurus Geographiae*, published in London, 1694, we find some interesting remarks about Manchester. The writer says:

Manchester at the confluence of the Irk and Irwell, is the most populous and thriving town in this country. . . . The inhabitants have increased proportionally to their incredible growth in trade. They are most famous for the fustian manufacture, commonly known by the name Manchester Cottons, though they deal also in many manufactures all of which are called by one general name Manchester wares. They have more public buildings than are commonly to be met with in our country towns. The Collegiate Church is a very stately edifice the quire whereof is particularly remarkable for its curious carved work. The College (consisting of a Warden and four Fellows, two chaplains, four singing men and four Choristers) is a noble foundation. The Hospital for the maintenance of sixty poor boys is much of the same government and constitution with that of Christ Church in London. The Library is furnished already with books to almost the number of 4,000 and will daily increase by an annual salary of £116 per annum, settled upon it for that purpose and for the maintenance of a librarian. The school has three masters who have genteel salaries.

On June 24, 1694, the first Nonconformist place of worship, now Cross Street Chapel, was opened in Manchester. It had been built for Henry Newcome, one of the ministers who seceded in 1662 and was Presbyterian in doctrine. Sir Edward Mosley approved the Revolution of 1688 as the assertion of civil and religious liberty and, with his wife, Lady Merial, was a friend and supporter of Newcome. Their daughter, Lady Ann Bland, also attended the chapel with them.

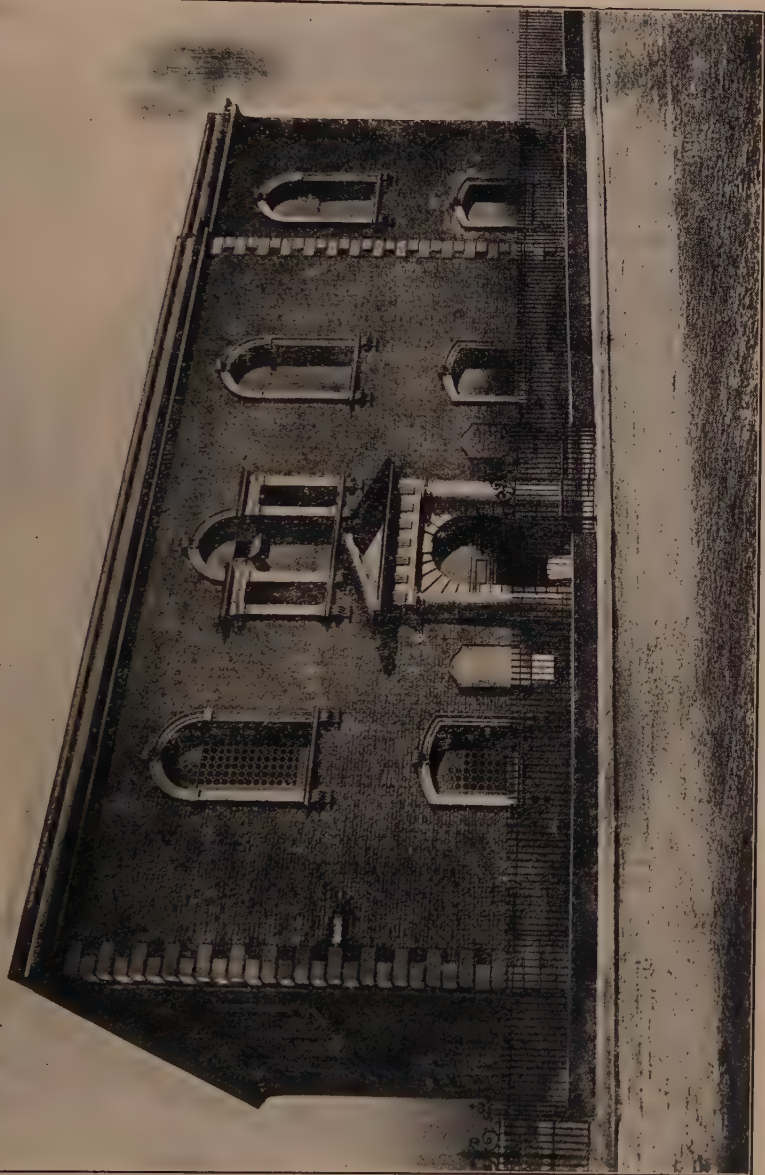
Cecilia Fiennes in her *Through England on a Side Saddle*, 1697, says:

Manchester looks exceedingly well at the entrance. Very substantial buildings; the houses are not very lofty, but mostly of brick and stone. The old houses are timber work. There is a very large church all stone and stands high, so that by walking round the churchyard you see the whole town. This is a thriving place. The market place is large; it takes up two streets length where the market is kept for their linen cloth cotton tickings which is the manufacture of the town. Here is a very fine school for young gentlewomen, as good as any in London.

Hibbert-Ware gives an extract from a household book which describes the wardrobes of a gentleman and a lady of this same year. Aikin quotes a manufacturer's private expense book,



CROSS STREET CHAPEL

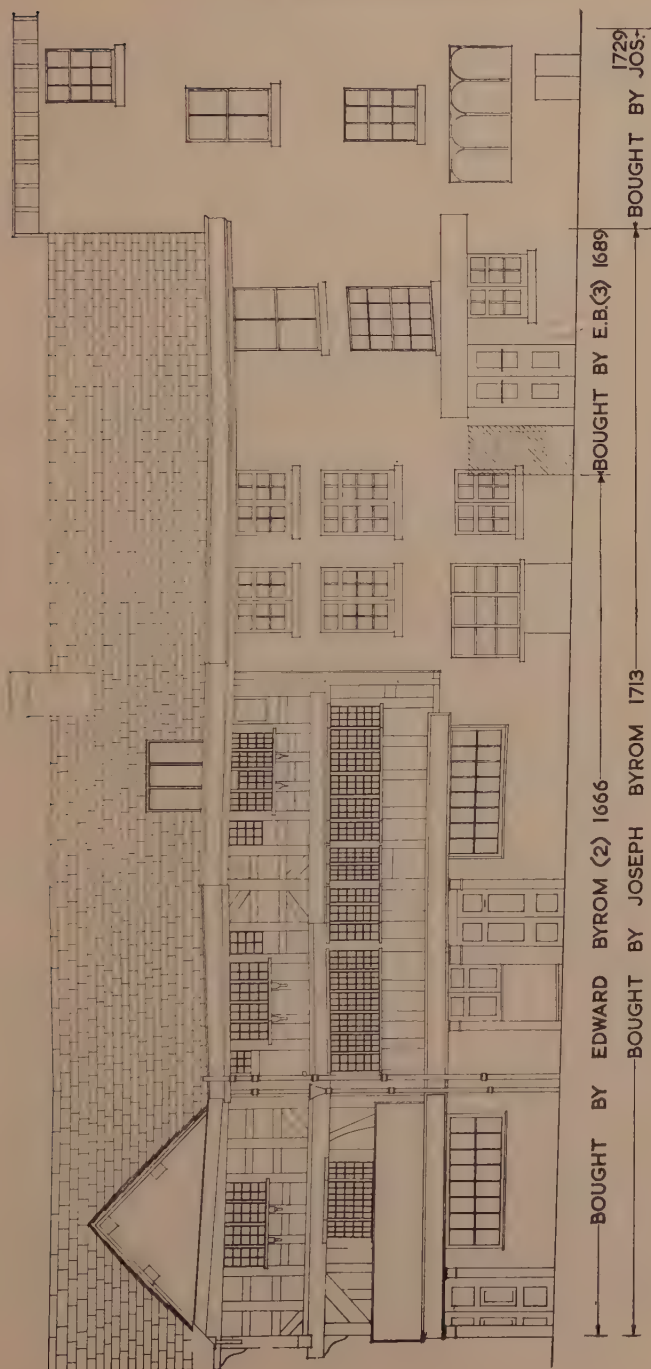


under date 1701, which gives many interesting details of his domestic outlay.

A MS., quoted by Owen, relates to the tithes of Manchester parish in 1701. "The tythes of the Parish being now let for about £500 a year, the Warden's dividend is eight score and six pounds  $13\frac{1}{4}$ , (£166 13s. 4d.); each Fellow £83 6s. 8d. besides the fines at the renewing of leases and the yearly rents from Newton." Next follows a list of the tithe payers and the amount for each district, the total being £504 15s. 4d. Tithes being based on the current prices, wheat was given as 40s. and malt 24s. the quarter.

Defoe in his *Compleat English Tradesman* thus describes the carriage of goods. "The Yorkshire cloathing trade, the Manchester trade, and Coventry trade, all by land, not to London only, but all parts of England, is by pack-horse; the Manchester men being, saving their wealth, a kind of pedlars, who carry their goods themselves to the country shopkeepers everywhere."

The prosperity of this period is well illustrated by the life of Joseph Byrom, Boroughreeve in 1703; who in the short space of fifty years amassed an immense fortune. He was extensively engaged in trade, especially as a silk merchant. His eight wills, all of which I have recovered, reveal his successive purchases of landed property and his mounting cash balances. After serving eight years apprenticeship, he started in business on his own account about 1683, marrying his master's daughter in the next year. His will of 1702 shows that he had bought a property in Millgate and was worth £7,000; by 1705, £8,950; and by 1709, £10,500. In 1710 he began investing in real property again, buying the ancestral home, Byrom Hall, Winwick, for £1,200, and in 1713 the Shambles property (formerly the possession of his brother Edward), for £1,320. His will of 1715 shows him possessed of one chariot with two horses and worth £12,900; that of 1717, lands lately purchased in Levenshulme and worth £15,600. In 1718 he bought extensive areas in Alport reaching to the Irwell for £2,350. On this land his son Edward built the Quay Street house in 1740. By 1721, Joseph had bought the house in Blue Boar Court (where he resided until the end of his life), Hurdsfield near Macclesfield, and was worth £14,400. Next year he bought Smithills Hall and manor, near Bolton, for £4,688. His will of 1727 shows he had bought lands in Halliwell, Deane, Urmston, Barton, and Stockport, which



ELEVATION OF THE SHAMBLES PROPERTY

reduced his cash balance to £11,200. In 1729, he bought an adjoining shop in the Shambles (now the Oyster Bar). After all these purchases, his last will, dated 1733, still provided for legacies in cash of £9,000.

Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle gives an account of his visit to Manchester on October 17 and 18, 1704. He describes Manchester as "the largest ville in the queen's dominions", thus anticipating Stukeley twenty years later. His remark that Humphrey Chetham's "picture, drawn at a guess, hangs in the dineing room" points to the painting being posthumous and not from life, as was generally believed. The tapestry seen by Nicholson had been presented to the Collegiate Church by Mr. Brooke, four years earlier, and it is still in the cathedral though not in the chancel. Nicholson says :

"The town of Manchester is no Corporation or Borough but the largest ville in the Queen's Dominions. The Church is a neat and Noble Fabric. The Quire and Chapter House (cield with wood) are both very Uniform. The stalls in the chancel well carved, the Tapestry at the altar represents the story of Ananias and Saphira, and has a deal of silk in it. The Warden, Dr. Wroe, lives in the Town. But all the Fellows on their Cures at some little distance. We lodged at the Bull's Head (Mr. W. Bookers) in the Market Place. Sir John Bland is Lord of the place; and his two constables have the Civil Government under his Steward. The Meeting House of the dissenters, (Cross Street Chapel) cost about £1,500."

The second day was spent in visiting Chetham's Hospital and Dr. Charles Leigh, who is often erroneously stated to have died in 1701. He was a physician practising in Manchester and author of the *Natural History of Lancashire*.

Four silver flagons were presented to the Collegiate Church and the six bells were recast into eight. William Bowker of the Bull's Head was the last innkeeper-postmaster of the town. The first Manchester postmark appears on a letter to London dated March 12, 1706, and was charged 6d.

John Byrom commenced his *Journal* in 1707 and this, which gives many interesting details of conditions and personalities during the next fifty-six years, should be more widely known. The abridged edition by Henri Talon is not very helpful and his notes blindly repeat all the previous mistakes, even the absurd statement that the Levy on Manchester was signed by Lord George Murray instead of, in fact, John Murray of Broughton.



In his introduction Talon says: "Whether he (John Byrom) called on the Pretender in France as Whigs in Manchester used to imply is uncertain". But Byrom in his *Journal* says he saw the exiled Stuart prince at Avignon and kissed his hand. Moreover Byrom lost the seal off his watch-chain there and this might have proved very dangerous had it been found by a government spy and the coat-of-arms traced.



JOHN BYROM

When Corporation Street was made, nearly the whole of Tipping's Court was absorbed. Formerly it was a short cut from Hanging Ditch to Cannon Street. There stood in the court a school at which a number of children were educated in accordance with the wish of Catherine Richards, who in her will, dated March 3, 1711, directed that the rents of certain property should annually be paid to the relief of widows of decayed tradesmen, and for the instructing and apprenticing of poor boys and girls, in such manner as the Wardens of Manchester

might direct. The school has gone but the charity is still administered by the Dean and Lord Ducie.

Lady Ann Bland was a thorough Churchwoman but continued to attend Cross Street Chapel until the death of Henry Newcome. She belonged to that section which only a few years later took or received, the name of the Low Church Party. In 1708, Lady Ann and her followers obtained an Act for the building of St. Ann's Church which was consecrated in 1712. The tower of St. Ann's originally had a cupola, but as this appeared to be in danger of falling it was removed in 1771. Houses were built round The Square, which now became the fashionable part of the town. From the time of its foundation, the Church had strong Whig connections and was anti-Jacobite, while the Old Church was the rallying place for the Tories and upholders of the Stuart cause.



ST. ANN'S SQUARE

Lady Ann Bland was the patroness of a dancing assembly, and a handsome room for this purpose was erected upon pillars, leaving a space beneath to walk in. Her rival, as leader of her Tory party, was Madam Drake. There is a story that Lady Ann was so incensed by the display of Stuart tartan by her rival that she led the ladies of her assembly, decked with orange blossoms, into King Street, where they danced by moonlight. Madam Drake's home was at the corner of Miller's Lane and Long Millgate. She preferred a tankard of ale and a pipe of tobacco

rather than the new-fashioned beverages of tea and coffee. There is some confusion in the dates connected with Madam Drake, who was said to be the first person actually in business to set up a carriage. But the will of Joseph Byrom, dated April 15, 1715, disproves this for he states: "I give and devise unto my said wife, Elizabeth Byrom my chariot and two horses which I bought for her."

On the orders of certain gentlemen of Manchester, Thomas Steers prepared a map of the Mersey and Irwell with an account of the rising of the waters and how many locks would be required to make these rivers navigable. Eight locks were marked, as also the fall of the water between nine different points. Underneath the map the following was written :

The Inland parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire being favoured with great variety of valuable Manufactures in Woollen, Linen, Cotton &c and that in very great quantities, has made that Neighbourhood as populous if not more so (London & Middlsex excepted) as the same extent of any part of Great Britain. The Trades of these Counties extend considerably through the whole Island as well as abroad, and the consumption of Groceries. Irish Wool, Dyeing-Stuff and other Imported Goods consequently very great; but as yet not favoured with the Conveniency of Water-Carriage, tho' Providence from the Port of Liverpool, up to the most considerable Inland Town of Trade in Lancashire, Manchester, has afforded the Best, not yet employed Rivers of Mersey and Irwell for that purpose.

Those Rivers are here described from Bank-key (whither from Liverpool ye Navigation at present is used). The conveniences of the Navigation carried thence to Manchester, might one time or other be of the greatest importance in time of War, in Joyning a communication of the East and West Seas of Great Britain with only 28 miles of Land Carriage. The Trade made more easy, by an expensive Land Carriage (caused in deep and flat country) being turned into an easy and cheap Water-Carriage and Cheshire served with Coals, Flaggs & Slate for cheaper than at Present &c.

Chetham's Library contains the garrulous diary of Edward Harrald who passed his time between church and the alehouse, and varied his business of curling wigs and acting as barber-surgeon by dealing in books. He possessed a suspicious fluency in making prayers and resolutions. Harland printed the diary in his *Collectanea I*, but omitted the diarist's outlines of the sermons of Manchester preachers, which he appears to have well summarised.

Various dates are given for the visit of the physician and

antiquarian William Stukeley, but the 1776 edition definitely dates the entry Boston, 1713, where the author was then in practice. Saintsbury suggests that the use of the word "village" is sarcastic owing to Manchester not being a corporate town and adds, "But as it was a market town the term is, even from the point of pedantry inapplicable". Stukeley's account reads:

Manchester is the largest and most rich, populous and busy village in England. Their trade, which is incredibly large consists much in fustians, girth-webs, tapes etc. They have looms that work 24 laces at a time, which was stolen from the Dutch.

There is a free school maintained by a mill on the river and on the same river for a space of 3 miles upwards, there are no less than 60 water mills. The town stands chiefly on rock, and across the river is another large town, called Salthorp. . . . French wheat grows commonly hereabouts, much used among poor people, of very different species from ours; they have likewise wheat with long beards like barley, and barley with 4 grains on an ear and great plenty of potatoes.

It is remarkable that there was still no printing press in Manchester and that the only one in the north of England was at York. The years from 1700 onwards were prosperous years of good harvest (for the weather is a factor to be reckoned with in history) and the working classes had attained a position of comparative comfort.

Faucher says:

At the commencement of the eighteenth century Manchester was a town of little dealers and manufacturers who bought unbleached fabrics in Bolton, dyed them, and hawked them upon horseback from market to market. . . . A brick house was considered quite a luxury, manufacture was, strictly speaking, scattered in the huts and cottages of the peasants. The weaver was a sort of domestic manufacturer, who bought his yarn when his family was not able to furnish it, and sold it when woven for a price which remunerated him for the labour and outlay which he had incurred. Manufacturers at Manchester were limited to dyeing and dressing, and beyond this the capitalist was nothing more than a taker-in of goods from the weavers and a merchant in the disposal of them."

His remark that "Commerce having but little capital was necessarily limited in its operations", would seem to be based on opinion, not knowledge, when one considers the success of Joseph Byrom, who was only one among several.



## 19. *Early Hanoverians*

1715-1740

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MANCHESTER, which had fought so valiantly for Parliament during the Civil War had, by the time of the accession of George I, become predominately Royalist. This was largely due to the preaching of the Divine Right of Kings by the clergy of the Collegiate Church, gratitude to "Good Queen Anne" for the "Bounty" which bears her name, and the hope that she would be succeeded by her exiled half-brother, James Francis Edward. The French called him *le Pretendant*, i.e., the Claimant, which the Whigs maliciously translated as the Pretender.

On the birthday of the exiled Stuart Prince, June 10, 1715, Tom Syddall the elder, a blacksmith, led a riotous mob to attack the Presbyterian chapel in Cross Street. Here doors and windows were smashed, pulpit and pews destroyed and the wreckage set on fire. The walls alone were left standing and these still remained until the twentieth century. Richard Lane, an architect, described them as "the best brickwork in Manchester". Parliament granted an indemnity of £1,500 towards the damage and this was used to replace the oak pews and fittings.

Tom Syddall was arrested and imprisoned in Lancaster gaol. He was liberated by the English partisans in the rebellion of 1715 and at once joined their forces. After the defeat of the rebels at Preston, Syddall was captured, he and four others being hanged in Manchester and his head impaled on the Market Cross. In the Accounts of the High Sheriff of Lancaster at this time there is the following grim item: "Feb. 11, 1716. Charge at Manchester, on executing Syddall &c., £8 10s. 0d."

George Psalmanazar, who became clerk to a regiment of dragoons stationed in the town just after the suppression of the rebellion relates:

At Manchester, I had moreover the opportunity of frequently visiting the noble library belonging to Chetham's Hospital, and well furnished with all manner of books that could be purchased for money; for it is endowed with £100 per annum to supply it with new ones as they come out and yet, when I was there, they had about £400 in bank and scarce knew how to lay it out, inasmuch that they were thinking of purchasing some of the most curious MSS. This, I could not but observe to them, was ill judged considering the situation of it among tradesmen, who have neither taste nor knowledge for such valuable pieces . . . rather advised them to lay out that income in purchasing such valuable modern books as are yearly published, both in England and out of it, which I thought would better answer the intention of the noble donor. They seemed to acquiesce in that I said but whether they followed my advice or not. I never enquired since.

Very fortunately the feoffees and librarian did not follow the advice of the historian of Formosa. Hence it is that the library possesses a collection of MSS., few in number, but of great value. This accumulation of the fund for book purchase is confirmed by a letter of Francis Hooper, the then librarian, dated 20 Apr. 1719, to John Byrom. "Mr. Leicester's long illness obliged him to omit that part of his office, so that we have £300 in bank for that purpose."

Political feeling in the town was greatly inflamed by the appointment of Samuel Peploe as Warden in 1718. When the rebels were in Preston, where he was then the vicar, Peploe had displayed his loyalty by reading the prayers for George II and this promotion was his reward. As the clergy of the Collegiate Church were all avowedly Jacobite, the appointment of a Hanoverian was bound to lead to nothing but trouble. The Bishop of Chester, also a Tory, made matters worse by refusing to install the new warden on the grounds that he had not the necessary qualification of B.D. An unedifying dispute followed which was only ended by a decision of the Court of King's Bench in Peploe's favour.

Roger Adams was the printer and proprietor of the first Manchester newspaper. This made its appearance the first week in January 1719, under the title *The Manchester Weekly Journal*, containing the freshest advices both foreign and domestic. The price was 1*d.* and publication continued until 1726. As the subject matter presents little that was noteworthy and there was no local news whatever, it is surprising that the life of the paper continued as long as it did. The first book printed in Man-

chester, *Jackson's Mathematical Lectures*, also appeared in 1719.

At last Thomas Steer's survey of 1712 was to become effective. From time immemorial the Mersey had been navigable as far as Bank Key, Warrington, but, in general, no further. To remedy this defect and to establish communication by water between Liverpool and Manchester, the 500 proprietors of the Irwell and Mersey Navigation obtained an Act of Parliament in 1721 to make these rivers navigable by means of weirs and locks. This first attempt to give Manchester direct access to the sea became known as the Old Quay Co., to distinguish it from the New Quay Co., established 100 years later. Writing seventeen years after the Act an unknown author in the Burton MSS. says:

There were great hopes of success but the stream being very rapid and the water sometimes very high and the works by this means some of them soon destroyed and managers, as was thought, not fixing on the most proper method for the locks this affair became very expensive costing at least £14,000 and did not prove near so well as was expected. However the work is now finished and boats pass and repass upon the river with large quantities of goods from Warrington and Liverpool, but the profits are as yet but small.

“Originally there were 500 Mersey and Irwell Shares of the nominal value of £100 each. The Company, after 1794, prospered exceedingly; the shares became very valuable, at one time paying a dividend of £35 per annum on each £70 paid up share, and, before the advent of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, the £70 share realised £1250. Afterwards they depreciated to £800, at which price, in 1845, Lord Ellesmere bought them, taking over also a bonded debt of £149,000 owing by the Company. Altogether he paid £550,800.” (*Leech*.)

One of the pleasures of the Directors of the Old Quay Company was to take a day's voyage down the river to Warrington, dining on board the boat bearing their own name. Among the twenty vessels were the: — Mosley, Byrom, Marsden, Bradshaw, Garside, Whitehead, Chadwick, Tipping, and Fletcher. The Duke of Bridgewater's vessels, from Warrington to Liverpool, eleven in number, were named after places, except the Ellesmere.

An advertisement, in 1753 gives the following charges:— From Warrington to Manchester 6*d.* per hundred in summer and 7*d.* in winter. From Manchester to Warrington 4*d.* per hundred at all times.

Samuel Taylor's diary contains details of the journeys he made between October 18, 1722, and March 19, 1723, to and from London on horseback, taking five days at an inclusive cost of about £1 each way. Nights were spent at Leek, Lichfield, Danchar (Daventry) and Hockley (Hockliffe). Daily living expenses in London were breakfast and ale 3*d.*; dinner and ale 7½*d.*; supper and ale 4½*d.*; occasional expenses for letters 4*d.* each; shaving and trimming 3*d.*; new shoes 5*s.*; new stockings 3*s.*; mending and washing, etc., and almost daily entries of the names of persons treated to coffee, wine and jockalett (chocolate) by Taylor. The diary contains no information about the invention itself but gives one of the earliest accounts of the procedure for obtaining a patent under the old law. One of his



supporters was Joshua Marriott, the Manchester threadmaker, who affirmed that Samuel Taylor had set up and made for him an engine for the stamping and dressing of thread which he had found very satisfactory and that he had never known or heard of any such engine before. The *London Journal* of March 16, 1721, gives these brief details:

This engine hath four stampers, and by the assistance of only one man to turn it, performs the beating, turning, pulling over, and stretching of the thread in a more expeditious, and beneficial



manner than any heretofore used. The only engine yet compleat of this kind is in the hands of Mr. Joshua Marriott, a noted experienced threadmaker in Manchester, who hath been a great encourager of the projector, where any one may see the engine and be further informed of its usefulness and where to find the maker.

Samuel Peploe, the Warden, was promoted to the see of Chester in 1725. At once the old antagonism between the Whig Warden and the Tory clergy of the Collegiate Church flared up. During the time of the dispute as to the Wardenship, Bishop Gastrell had appointed Richard Asheton to a vacant chaplainship. This appointment, Dr. Peploe considered was undue interference by his opponent. Twenty years after, on his succession to the diocese, he tried to set aside Asheton's appointment and to secure that of a chaplain named Whittaker. A previously unpublished letter from Thomas Cattell to Dr. Byrom relating to this dispute is included in my *Byromiana*.

A list of townsmen, printed in the *Palatine Notebook*, Vol. III, page 96, may reliably be accepted as belonging to this dispute. Owen says that it was presented to the Warden, Bishop Peploe, in December 1726. Peploe sent word that he would answer it in the Old Church, "which accordingly he did by tearing it in pieces, and saying that it was signed by none but non-jurors, scoundrels and people that had no families". But this quotation is not verbatim from Byrom's *Journal*, as indicated at the end of it. Owen gives brief notes on many of the principal signatories and suggests that these were largely derived from the congregation of the new church of St. Ann's. The number of persons who set their names to the petition was 341 of whom forty-one sign with a mark (x) and about sixty of the names are those of women.

*Defoe's Tour*, published between 1724 and 1727, presents an invaluable picture of the state of Great Britain midway between 1688 and the Industrial Revolution. He was a keen observer, and had more interest in trade and industry than most writers. After quoting Stukeley's description as the greatest mere village, he continues :

The Manchester Trade we all know, at least, all concerned in it know, is as all our other manufactures very much increased within these 40 or 50 years, and as the manufacture is increased, the people must be so too. . . . The Increase of buildings at Man-

chester within these few years, is a Confirmation of the Increase of People, for here, as at Liverpool, and as at Froom in Somerset, the Town is extended in a surprising manner, abundance not of new Houses only, but of new Streets of Houses are added, as also new church, dedicated to St Ann, and they talk of another and a fine new square, so that the Town is almost double to what it was some years ago.

That Defoe would not have approved of some modern legislation we may conclude from this commendation: "Manchester, for the Industry of its Inhabitants, is often compared by Travellers to the most industrious towns of Holland; the smallest children being all employed, and earning their bread."



CORNER OF BROWN STREET AND MARKET STREET

The growth of the town was stimulated by the Act secured by Thomas Brown in 1727, which enabled him to grant building leases of his estate. The preamble describes this as "thirty-one messuages, cottages, or dwelling houses the sites whereof and the orchards, gardens, grounds and curtilages (i.e., ground inside the same fence as the house) thereto belonging containing ten acres . . . situated near the middle of Manchester, a town of great trade and resort, and where the number of buildings

and inhabitants are of late years greatly increased". It is difficult to imagine Brown Street, now the busy thoroughfare at the rear of the General Post Office, as "a certain cartway or passage leading from the higher part or end of a certain street in Manchester aforesaid called Market Street Lane". On the right-hand side of Brown Street, where there was no footpath, stones were reared to prevent the wheels of vehicles scraping the walls of the houses. This was necessary as the street was barely wide enough to allow a vehicle to pass. At the corner of Market Street two posts were erected to prevent their encroachment upon the footpath. One of the leases enabled Joshua Marriott, yarn and thread maker, to erect the magnificent Georgian mansion illustrated. His name is preserved in the short street at the south end of the General Post Office, Marriott's Court, which has been described as the busiest minor thoroughfare in town.

Viewed from the river the entire length of ancient Deansgate is well illustrated in Buck's "South-West Prospect", published in 1728. The large gardens of Mr. Quincey, Mr. Tipping, Mr. Sedgwick and several others are here seen in pleasant rows. Seven buildings are marked by numbers and the foot of the engraving bears the following:

Manchester is neither borough nor corporation, but a spacious rich, and populous inland town in the hundred of Salford and south east part of Lancashire, situate upon a rocky cliff at the confluence of the rivers Irk and Irwell, bounding it on the north-west, add much pleasure to its healthful soil, which is most part gravelly. It is a manor, with Court Leet and Baron, which at the decease of the present Dowager Lady Bland will devolve to Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. 'Tis governed by two constables annually chosen in the Court Leet at Michaelmas. 'Tis famous for the woollen, linen, and cotton manufactures, whereby it is immensely enriched, and many hundred poor families employed from several counties . . . and with handsome broad streets both new and old, and a large bridge over the river Irwell. This joy-neth Salford, a populous, beautiful town, giving name to the hundred and seemeth as a suburb thereto, The Exchange now building by Sir Oswald and the River Irwell falling into the Mersey communicateth with Liverpool, which (by their expense and labour) hath gained considerable progress, and is soon expected to be made navigable.

"The Prospect" is reproduced by Loudon 4/218 and also in Procter's *Memorials of Manchester Streets*, with quotations





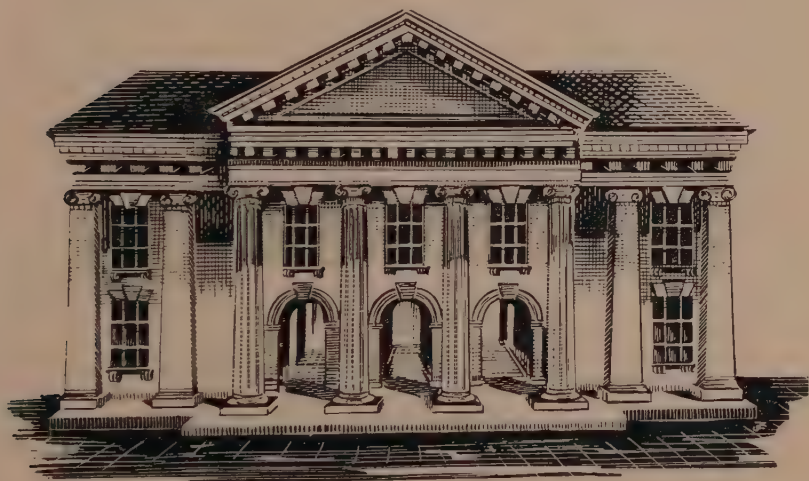
BUCK'S S.W. PROSPECT OF MANCHESTER RECORDS:

"Manchester is neither Borough nor Corporation, but a spacious, rich and populous Inland Town, situate upon a rocky cliff, at the confluence of the rivers Irk and Irwell . . . 'Tis famous for woollen, linen and cotton manufactories, whereby it is immensely enriched . . . The town is adorned with many noted buildings . . ."



from relevant deeds. A large extension of the town had followed the building of St. Ann's church and the square became the fashionable and Hanoverian residential area. Around this grew a pleasant row of new streets, modest in extent, the houses all of red brick and stone. Trading boats already plied on the Irwell and the Mersey.

The thriving condition of the town is further shown by the erection of the first Exchange by the lord of the manor in 1729. Its site was at the entrance to the Market Place, on the opposite side of Market Street from the present Exchange. To make room for it, Sir Oswald Mosley demolished the Conduit which, for nearly two centuries, had supplied Manchester with drinking water. The first Exchange was built of brick and stone. Its



FIRST EXCHANGE, 1729

pillars were remarkable for their thickness, being out of all proportion to their height. This two-storeyed erection had its lower portion open and was used as a market hall. The upper storey consisted of a large room where the Court Leet and the Court Baron were both held until the Exchange was taken down, over sixty years later, when they were removed to the new Court Room built in Fountain Street, by the lord of the manor. Meetings were held and theatrical performances also took place in the upper room of this first Exchange.

Horse-racing had taken place around Manchester for several

centuries, but irregularly. In April 1729, it was announced that the Manchester Races would take place at Kersal on June 13 and two following days. In 1733 subscriptions were invited to further this sport and Edward Byrom, John's elder brother, published a pamphlet *A Serious Dissausive from an intended subscription for continuing the Races*. This was replied to by a pamphlet attributed to Thomas Cattel. It seems that Edward was more puritanical than his more famous brother who appears not to have been averse to a bet or a wager at cards. In the Reference Library there is a manuscript catalogue in the handwriting of the Rev. J. Clayton in which the pamphlet is attributed to Edward Byrom. As John Clayton was a friend of the Byroms his evidence is conclusive as to the authorship of the pamphlet. Dr. Peploe opposed the races and sternly prohibited the clergy from attending them.

Edward Byrom, father of the Edward and John, named above, had secured one-third of Kersal Moor which, in 1697, comprised 100 acres or thereabouts. With the lease of Kersal Mill, 1702, the same Edward Byrom had secured the sole right, during his lifetime, of erecting stands on Kersal Moor and charging for their use. Both these deeds are now in my possession. Edward's death seems to have opened the way for the long continued dispute about the right to hold Manchester Races on Kersal Moor. Soon after 1742, John Byrom addressed a poem to Ashton Lever, when he became Steward of the races. The dispute continued until 1761 and, in one of several unpublished letters that I now have from Edward Chetham, owner of another third of the Moor, he threatened to pull down the stands, fill up the trenches below them where liquor was sold, and even to dig up the Course.

At a Town's Meeting, in June 1729, to consider the provision of a new workhouse, £2,000 was promised towards the project. A MS. list of subscribers and the amounts they promised is still extant. It was proposed that the three religious parties, High Church, represented by the Collegiate Church, Low Church (St. Ann's) and Dissenters (Cross Street Chapel), should each nominate eight Guardians of the Poor. When the High Church party realized that the Whig churchmen and Nonconformists would unite against them on controversial matters, they organized an attack on the scheme in the House of Commons and a manuscript copy of their case has been preserved. Sir

Oswald Mosley was also induced to withdraw his support as the presence of another legal body might infringe his manorial right. John Byrom skilfully organized the opposition through his many influential friends in London and, when accused of improper interference, replied: "We look upon ourselves embarked in the good ship Manchester, and whenever we apprehend her in the least danger, are ready to work as hard as if we were never so considerable shares in her cargo". When the efforts of the opponents of the Bill were successful and it was rejected, they celebrated their triumph by a grand cavalcade.

Pickfords, the carriers who appear to have originated in Poynton, probably extended their business to Manchester about 1730, although not until 26 years later do we find documentary evidence of their business here. In August 1756, James Pickford, the London and Manchester waggoner, advertised in the *Manchester Mercury* that he had removed his headquarters in London to Wood Street, Cheapside.

Although the Roman Catholic community numbered only about fifteen, the liberality of the neighbouring families of Barlow and Trafford provided a priest, and from 1733 to 1752 Father Henry Kendall, a member of an old yeoman family in the Fylde was a frequent visitor. Their meeting place was in the Parsonage, through a dark and narrow passage off Deansgate, and then by a flight of stone steps to the edge of the Irwell. Here, in a building that was a dye-house during the week, a temporary altar was set up on a trestle table.

In those days cloth was spread out in the open air to bleach and, in 1731, it became necessary to secure a new Act to punish those who stole linen or fustian from the fields.

Whitworth's "South-West Prospect" was published some time between 1729 and 1737. It could not have been earlier as the building numbered 12, The Exchange, had been built in the former year. It could not have been later as the engraving was dedicated to Lady Ann Bland, who died in the latter year. Whitworth's "Prospect" is a pleasant picture showing a long range of ordinary dwellings, amidst which rise the towers of the Collegiate Church, the then new St. Ann's and Trinity Chapel, Salford. The land for some distance on both sides of the rivers is shown as fields, orchards, or gardens; but three large gardens about South Parade, shown on Buck's

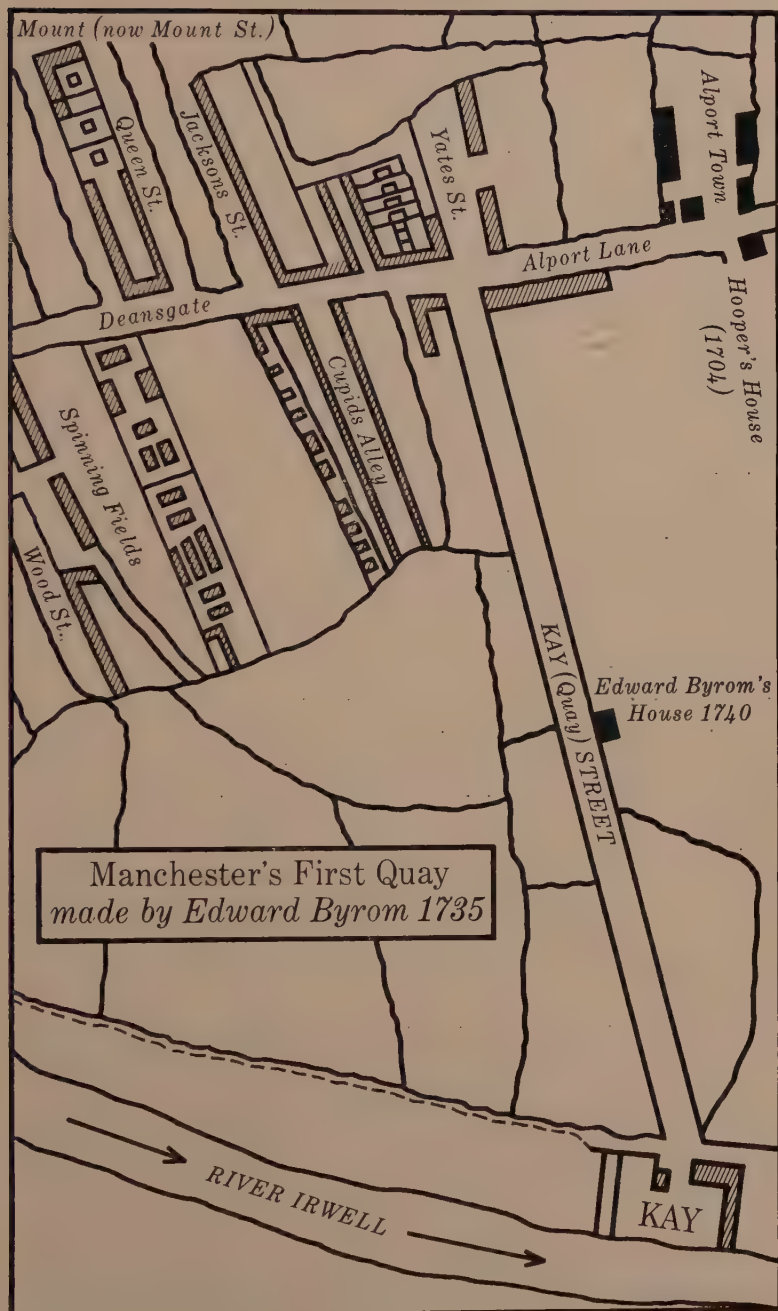
earlier prospect, had vanished. In the foreground, a few horses are peacefully grazing, one has been mounted, and two men are strolling in the fields. It seems strange to see three houses, each surmounted by a cupola, and Mr. Brown's large house, rising above the surrounding dwellings with sundry turrets. Whitworth's "Prospect" is printed separately in Loudon 1/37, but is erroneously dated 1720-21. It was reproduced on Casson and Berry's maps, from 1745, but with a spirited hunting scene in the foreground instead of the grazing horses and with addition of The Kay (Quay) and Quay Street on the right. It is printed separately in Loudon 4/21.

On 19 July 1735, Edward Byrom, the fifth of that name, entered into an agreement with the other proprietors of the Mersey and Irwell Navigation for the construction of Manchester's First Quay. This Original Deed is now in my possession. He was to construct; for not more than £1,200; a quay, wharf, warehouses &c. on his own land, known as the River Field. This quay was to have a frontage on the Irwell of 136 yards; to be 62 yards at the lower, or S.E. end, and 50 yards at the upper end. The Deed also provided for the making of Kay (Quay) St. from the wharf to Alport Lane (now Deansgate), as shown on the map.



MANCHESTER'S FIRST QUAY, 1735





Chamberlayne in his *Anglia Notitia* speaks of the town in 1735, as "of very great trade for woollen and linen manufacture". This same year saw the building of pretentious dwelling houses for the wealthier merchants on the south side of St. Ann's Square, in Ridgefield and in King Street.

Next year the "Manchester Act" stated "Whereas great quantities of stuffs made in linen yarn and cotton wool have for several years been manufactured and have been printed and painted within this kingdom of Great Britain and the said manufactures, so printed and painted, are a branch of the ancient fustians manufacture of Great Britain", therefore Parliament, in its wisdom permits the production sale, and use of "any sort of stuff made of linen yarn and cotton wool, manufactured and printed or painted with any colour or colours, within the kingdom of Great Britain, provided that this warp thereof be entirely linen yarn". This act made the printing of fustians legal.

Corn, still bought in the open market by the householders, had to be taken to the School Mills to be ground but by this time the monopoly had become oppressive. Yates and Dawson, the millers who were then the tenants of the property, engaged in several lawsuits to defend their right. Private and public meetings took place to seek measures of relief and the discussions naturally became very acrimonious. At one of these meetings John Byrom delighted his friends with this sally:

Here's Skin and Bone, two Millers thin  
Would starve the town or near it,  
But be it known to Skin and Bone,  
That flesh and blood can't bear it.

This was doubtless pointed by personal peculiarities of the partners of which we know nothing. These legal actions absorbed most of Grammar School income, and in order to meet their difficulties the school feoffees offered the high master a house large enough to enable him to take boarders and so secure both his local residence and the closer attention to school duties.

In the Burton MSS. there is a *History of Manchester* said to have been written about 1738, but it contains little fresh information.

It was in 1738 that John Shaw started his occupancy of the tavern in the Shambles, off the Market Place in Manchester, which in course of time became so well-known as John Shaw's Punch House. Even in those days licences were required, and in the accounts of the "Agents and Commissioners for the Revenue arising by wine licences", preserved at the Records Office in Clements Inn, John Shaw's name heads the list of the eighteen Manchester tavern keepers who paid for wine licences at Christmas 1738. . . . It is quite likely that the early closing movement which he imposed upon himself, and for which his Punch House became so renowned, originated, from his anxiety to countenance nothing but the respectable and law-abiding element in the town. He adopted the novel rule of turning all his customers out of the house at 8 o'clock in the evening. He brewed a very excellent punch which was served in small open bowls. They were of two sizes and prices; a shilling bowl was called a "P" of punch, and a sixpenny bowl a "Q". (Stancliffe.)

John Shaw's Club still survives, meeting annually at the Queen's Hotel.

The London *Daily Gazetteer* of September 5, 1739, has this description of the thriving state of the town :

The happy improvement of the linen manufacture in Manchester and those lately established here of paper, threads, tapes, and many other minute articles, have lessened our importations from Holland and Germany considerably of late years. The manufacture of cotton, mixed and plain, is arrived at so great perfection within these twenty years that we not only make enough for our consumption, but supply our colonies and many of the nations of Europe. The benefits arising from this branch are such as to enable the manufacturers of Manchester alone to lay out about £30,000 a year, for many years past, in additional buildings. It is computed that 2,000 new houses have been built in that industrious town within these twenty years.

Although this account is considerably exaggerated it serves to show the increasing prosperity of the town and its growing importance in the country.

The following advertisement appeared in the Lancashire Journal on Nov. 13th, 1739 :—

"Notice is hereby given that there will for the future come to a warehouse at Wm. Hepworth's, in Market Street Lane, in Manchester, a waggon from London, and goes out every Thursday from Manchester to London———and comes to the Ax Inn in London every Saturday following, and sets out from London on Monday morning. All sorts of goods and passengers are carried from any of the above towns at reasonable rates, to be performed, if God permits, by Richard Wood, Peter Culshaw, Thos. Norbury".

## 20. *The Heyday of the Jacobites*

1741-1750

ON June 24, 1741, Russel Casson and John Berry published their first "Plan of Manchester and Salford", with six engravings down each side. A second plan, undated but considered to be 1745, is exactly the same but with seventeen engravings. In addition the lower portion contains Whitworth's "South-West Prospect", though his few grazing horses are replaced by a company of sportsmen in pursuit of a hare. A third edition advertised in the *Manchester Magazine*, 1746, has eighteen views, the Long Room being replaced by Mr. Johnson's house (High Street), and an extra one, Miles Bowers house (Deansgate) added. The right-hand lower portion is further encroached upon by the addition of "A Plan of Manchester and Salford in 1650".



JOHNSON'S HOUSE





All three original plans, which are now in Chetham's Library, repeat the earlier mistakes, incorrectly placing The College and showing the Irwell bridge with three piers.

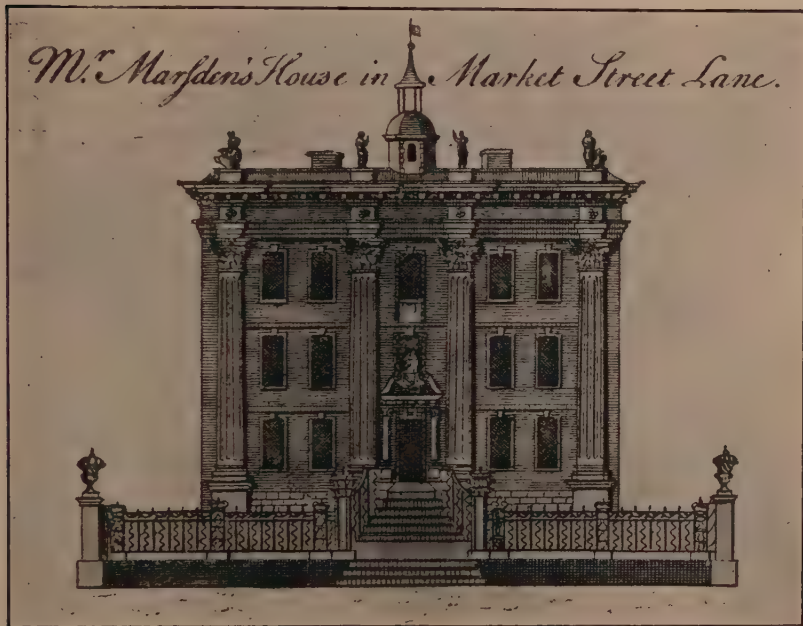
Harland (*Collectanea* 1/100) records a plan of 1751 which forms a small quarto book, published by J. Berry, a copy of which was then in the secretary's office at the Royal Infirmary. He transcribed large portions of the letterpress of this volume and added a description of the South-West Prospect, an account of the illustrations, and a description of the town from the map. This map was reproduced with Procter's *Bygone Manchester*. St. Ann's Square is shown with two coaches instead of the earlier man with dog, in the foreground. Loudon's map, dated 1751, is obviously incorrect as it contains a view of the infirmary which was not opened until four years later.

Another edition of the map, advertised in the *Manchester Mercury*, February 11, 1755, was published by J. Berry. This is the one mistakenly dated 1751 by Loudon and it is reproduced in Lee's *Maps and Plans*. It contains nineteen views, the South-West Prospect and the map of 1650.

On panels, to left and right of the maps, is an account of the trade of the town wherein it is stated :

Within 30 years last past ye town is become almost twice as large as it was before so fast have its inhabitants and their Riches increased. . . . They are known to be an Industrious People the Reason for there being so numerous is the flourishing Trade followed here for a long time known by the name of Manchester Trade which not only makes the Town but the country round about for several miles populous, industrious and wealthy. The trade consists chiefly of three general Branches viz. The Fustian or Cotton manufacture, ye Check Trade and Small Wares. The Fustian manufacture call'd Manchester Cottons has been long in ye place & neighbourhood & is of late much improv'd by several modern Inventions in dyeing and printing. The Check Trade includes several Articles, as Stuff for Aprons Gowns, Shirts, Ticking Bolstering, &c. But ye small Ware Business Comprehends most as Inckle, Lace of many sorts Tapes, Filleting &c. All these Trades employ both a great number & almost all sorts of Hands not only of Men both Rich and Poor but of Women and Children, even of 5 or 6 years, who by Spinning, Winding or Weaving, may earn more here than in any other part of ye Kingdom. . . . There is not any other Town in ye Nation excepting our Sea Ports yt may be comper'd to it in Trade as appears from ye number of Packs of Goods wch go weekly out of ye town, wch amount in a moderate Computation to 500.

The prosperity of these years led to the erection of a number of elaborate brick Georgian houses, ten of which are illustrated on the last of Berry's maps. Mr. Marsden's house in Market Street Lane is a good example. It was approached by nine broad steps enclosed by ornamental railings. "Mr. Marsden's residence testifies to the imposing style to which a few of the leading townspeople had attained in domiciliary architecture" (Loudon).

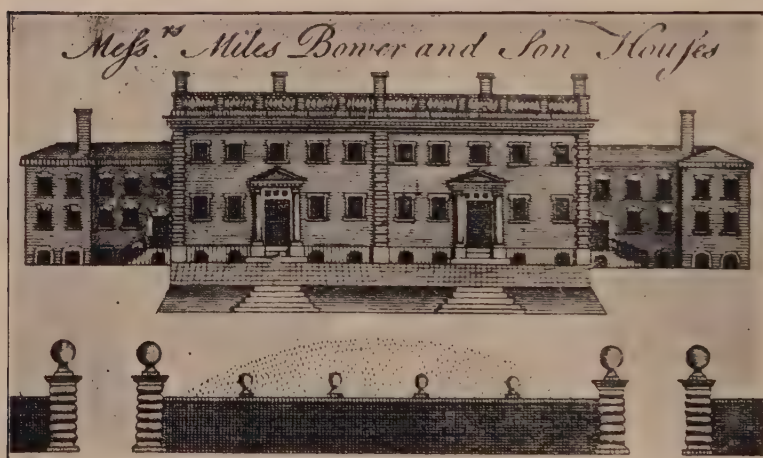


Dr. Leigh gives a description of the town, based on the map from which the following is abbreviated. From the Old Bridge to Seven Houses (now North Parade) the area was occupied by houses and courts, except that the space between Parsonage Bank and the Irwell was covered by gardens. A single line of houses fronted Deansgate to Wood Street, both sides of which were built up. Deansgate ended at Kay Street (Quay Street) at the foot of which was then the terminus of the Old Irwell and Mersey Navigation. South of Kay Street, three or four houses fronted to Deansgate which on the east side extended to Alport Town. Kay Street had been laid out from Deansgate to Hulme



Hall Lane (now Water Street), but contained only one house, that of Edward, son of Joseph Byrom, built in 1740. The rest of the area was covered by fields.

Mr. Philip's house and the fine pair of semi-detached mansions where Miles Bower and his son carried on the trade of hatters, had evidently been built in the interval between the publication of maps 2 and 3; Church Street (off Turner Street), Dyer's Alley (off High Street) and a few other streets had also been added during this interval. Opposite Bower's house the second Queen Street led to South Hall Fields, which extended right across the present Albert Square.



The eastern boundary of the town was formed by Brown Street, Spring Gardens, the upper part of Market Street Lane and High Street. A considerable open space from Brown Street to Pool Fold, formed the grounds belonging to Radcliffe Hall. On the north the boundary was the River Irk, Long Millgate, Millers Lane and the upper part of Shudehill. Behind most of the houses there were considerable gardens, enclosed from the surrounding fields.

John Byrom's *Journal*, August 1741, records: "Dined at new house in Quay Street". It is sometimes stated that this house was built by his brother Edward, who died in 1740. But my recent recovery of the deeds relating to the purchase of the land from Deansgate to the Irwell by Joseph Byrom from Joseph



Hooper, leaves no doubt that this house was built by Edward, John Byrom's cousin and brother-in-law. The references in Beppy Byrom's Diary also make this identification abundantly clear. This house descended to Miss Eleanora Atherton and later became the site of Gratrix's warehouse.



BYROM HOUSE, QUAY STREET

It was a very handsome large house, of the antique style, with railings in front. The front door, which was in the centre, with two windows on each side, was quite a feature. It was reached by half-a-dozen steps, broad at the bottom, but narrowing in a semi-circular fashion at the top.

In 1742 John Byrom had an unparalleled honour accorded to him when George II attended the House of Lords and, the Commons being summoned, gave his royal assent to an Act giving to this inventor the exclusive right to his shorthand for twenty-one years. Both his petition to Parliament and the Shorthand Act which resulted from it are published in my *Byromiana*.

The students of shorthand in those days were not newspaper reporters or clerks, but cultured men of artistic and literary standing. Many of them for the sake of privacy liked to keep their diaries in shorthand, and the system was of use to those engaged in literary work by reason of its involving at that period a good deal of extraction from manuscripts. The famous Earl of Chesterfield, the Duke of Devonshire, and Horace Walpole were all private pupils of John Byrom. He was quite a well-known figure in London, and in 1724 had been created a Fellow of the Royal Society. (Stancliffe).

Byrom's pupils paid him five guineas and took an oath of secrecy to protect his system from disclosure. There were several other competing systems but of Byrom's it is said: "It was in all essentials most scientific and is in fact, the parent of all other systems of Shorthand." On it, in later years, Pitman indirectly based his shorthand and anyone familiar with that system can decipher Byrom's without much difficulty.

An entry in the Constables' Accounts on March 12, 1743, "Warrant to the Hamlets to appear and produce their Arms, the nation threatened with invasion. 2s.", shows the apprehension of these times. A large fleet had been collected in the Channel ports of France, and Marshal Saxe, with 15,000 troops, stood ready to sail and restore the exiled Stuarts.

To the great comfort of the travelling public, such as merchants, business people, and the more well-to-do classes, who formerly had engaged post horses, a new kind of vehicle had sprung into existence, conveyance by stage waggon or flying machine. Our earlier reference begins in 1744. This invention of course, was a great gain to the trading community, and in a short time, the stage coach system ramified to all the more important towns. The pack horse became now the chief means by which goods were carried on the pike roads, which by the middle of the century were established throughout the country. (Roeder.)

Hudson says that a Faculty was obtained on August 3, 1745, to remove the old organ in the Collegiate Church and erect a new one, the cost of which was raised by public subscription, instead of a levy on the parish. This undertaking was let to a local firm and, as the £1,500 collected was more than sufficient, £110, the surplus, was invested towards tuning and repairs which explains why there were no expenses for the organ in the Church-warden's accounts.

Mention has already been made of the influence of the clergy in making Manchester predominantly Royalist. Another

cause was the coming of the younger sons of the local landed gentry and others, even from over the Border, as apprentices to Manchester trade and manufacture. Later they were often furnished with capital to engage in separate ventures of their own.

The advantage to the national wealth and prosperity which flowed from this measure was enormous. A well-educated class of youth was added to the mercantile population of the country, bringing with them the nice and delicate sense of honour which had been transmitted to them by an illustrious ancestry, and which had been further improved by a careful education. And hence the ancient association of the name of an English Merchant with every dignified and honourable virtue which tends to exalt society. (Hibbert-Ware.)

Hibbert-Ware pours scorn on Aikin's assertion that these apprentices fled before the expiry of their indentures and adds:

The truth is that from the commencement of the eighteenth century so many individuals of good birth and family influence were engaged in the manufacture of this town, that it was chosen as a desirable place of residence for persons of landed interest who had no other view than the advantage of good society to make it the object of their selection.

He also refutes Aikin's description of the domestic condition of these apprentices as follows:

Sketches are likewise attempted of the domestic manners of this period; but so far from their being drawn from the higher ranks of Manchester, they are those of classes little advanced above the lowest of the vulgar. But this inaccurate information is to be expected when we consider the rank of the writers themselves who have made such a statement, and whom Dr. Aikin empowered to write much of the book.

Legend relates that Bonnie Prince Charlie stayed incognito at Ancoats Hall in 1744. Until its destruction in 1940, the Bull's Head Hotel proudly exhibited Prince Charlie's chair, in which he was said to have sat and read the newspaper there. He was even credited with contributions to the Subscription Concerts as "Mr. Anon". All these fictions simply serve to illustrate the hopes and interest of the town when it was learned that he "intended to come home".

But Manchester merchants were more concerned about the effect that any change of monarchy might have on their trade and they subscribed nearly £2,000 for a troop of soldiers to be

placed at the disposal of the Earl of Derby for the defence of the country.

The Officers to command the said Troops so to be raised to be appointed and paid by His Majesty, and also the Cloathing Arms and Ammunition to be made use of by them to be provided at the expense of the Government, and the Troops so to be raised and enlisted not to be obliged to go out of England nor to serve longer than the 25th March 1746.

Parkinson's note in the last volume of *Byrom's Journal and Remains*, is very misleading and out of place. He enters this list of loyalist subscribers under the account of the forced contribution levied by the retreating Scots. It ought to have been printed fourteen pages earlier where Beppy records: "the gentlemen are gone to subscribe at Preston". Whig supporters of the Hanoverians attended either St Ann's, where the curate, the Rev. B. Nichols, officiated for the dying rector; or Cross Street Chapel, with its Presbyterian minister, Rev. Joseph Mottershead.

John Byrom's attitude to the arrival of the Prince is very perplexing. His indecision is well summed up in his epigram:

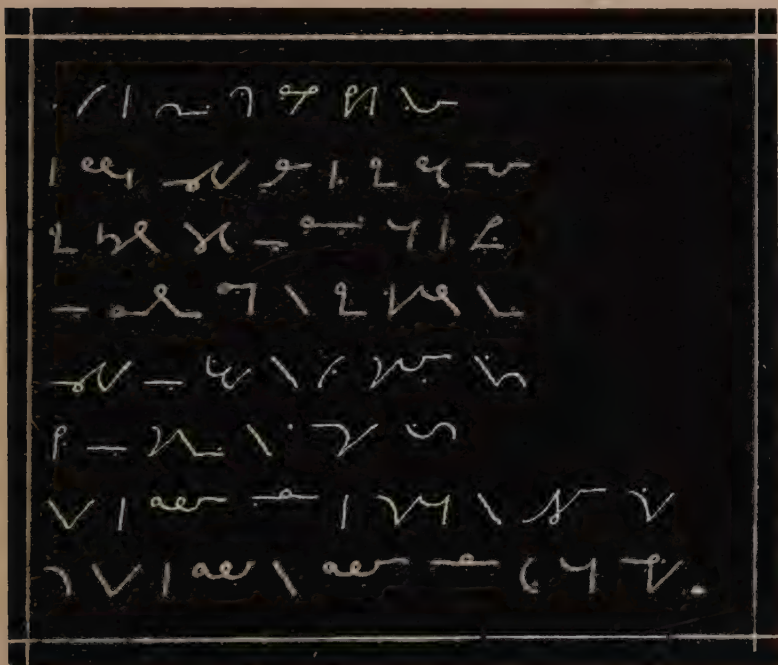
God bless the King! God bless the Faith's Defender!  
 God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender.  
 But who Pretender is, and who is King,  
 God bless us all! that's quite another thing

As a young man he had lost his Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, through not taking the Oath of Abjuration of the House of Stuart. While in France he had been to Avignon and done homage to the exiled James III. Possibly his contact with so many leading Hanoverians, to whom he taught his shorthand, had modified his views; or more probably he believed in a peaceful restoration by constitutional means and was averse to war. He had been a leading figure in local Jacobite circles but was "fetched a prisoner" to pay his respects to Prince Charles.

Quite out of proportion to the size of his little congregation was the influence of Thomas Deacon, a London medical man and non-juror; who had settled in Manchester. He was mainly concerned with teaching personal religion and reviving what he considered the ancient ceremonies, through his self-styled "True British Catholic Church", of which he was bishop. Three sons of this ardent Jacobite joined the Prince's forces.



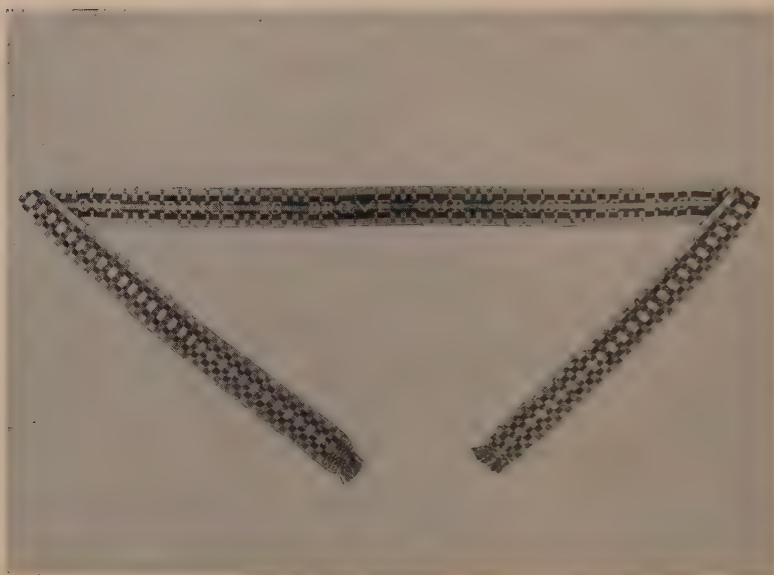
Francis Townley, a Catholic gentleman of Lancashire, having been given a colonel's commission by Louis XIV, came over to make contact with the Manchester Jacobites. During one of his visits, his profane language was rebuked by John Byrom with his well-known epigram on swearing. Manchester Jacobites met at a small inn, near Jackson Ferry where they adopted the Scottish custom of drinking to the "King Over the Water".



EPIGRAM ON SWEARING IN BYROM'S SHORTHAND

Oh! That the Muse might call without offence  
 The gallant soldier back to his good sense  
 His temporal field so cautious not to lose  
 So careless quite of his eternal foes.  
 Soldier so tender of thy prince's fame  
 Why so profane of a Superior Name?  
 For the King's sake the brunt of battles bear  
 But for the King of King's sake do not swear.

Nor were ladies behindhand in their enthusiasm, wearing gowns of blue and white, the colours of the Stuart prince. Garters woven with such mottoes as "Our Prince is Brave, Our Cause is Just", or "God Bless K.J., P.C., D.H.", "Down with the Rump", were worn, while the same ribbons were made into pincushions to hang at the girdle. The Byrom pincushion is unusual as the mention of Duke Henry, afterwards a Cardinal, is rare. Glasses engraved with the portraits of Prince Charles and snuff boxes with concealed paintings in the lids came into use.



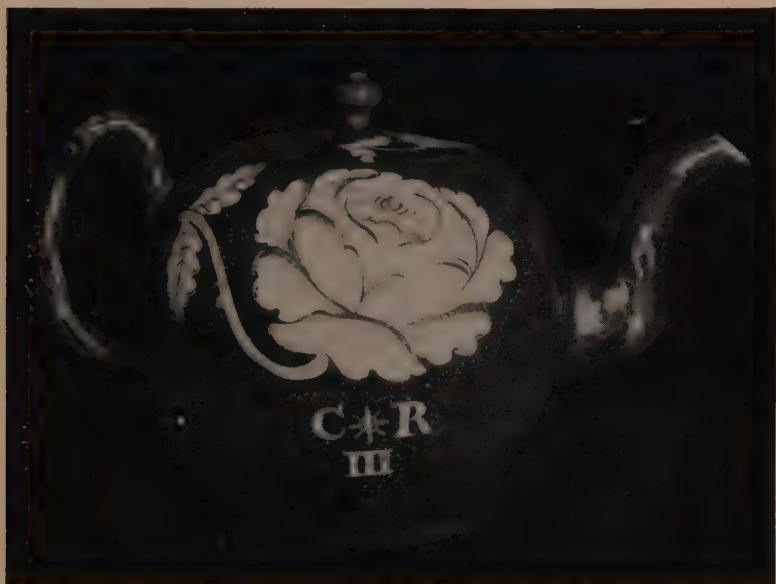
JACOBITE GARTER

John Byrom was given one as early as July 22, 1736, and, either now or later, had a set of wine glasses inscribed in his system of shorthand, "Down with the Rump". These glasses are very valuable and the whole set of fifteen are still intact. After the death of "James III", Beppy Byrom acquired a blue salt-glazed teapot, decorated with the monogram "C. R. III" and the White Rose of Stuart. The only other known example is in the British Museum. All these heirlooms are still in the family and were on view in the Manchester Art Gallery in 1951.

The news of the landing of Prince Charles near Moidart was received with breathless interest in the town and Hugh Stirling

of Glasgow, who had been apprenticed to a Manchester merchant, returned home and joined the Scottish forces. Conflicting emotions of the times and the intense activity of both parties are well illustrated in *Beppy Byrom's Diary*, which gives an eye-witness account of the stirring events of these times.

Actual participation in the Stuart enterprise began on Thursday November 28, 1745, when Sergeant Dickson, with a girl behind him and preceded by a drummer, entered the Market Place and began to beat up recruits for the "yellow-haired laddie". According to John Byrom, who witnessed this event from the window of his sister's shop opposite the Cross (now the Wellington Inn), this was accomplished "without any resistance or opposition". Nor does the Rev. Mottershead,



CHARLES III TEAPOT

writing to a friend, make mention of any disturbance at the time. Thomas Walley, one of two Constables, who also left a diary of this period, found the situation so quiet that he went home. Hibbert-Ware suggests that this paltry force prejudiced the Prince's cause and hindered recruiting.

The Chevalier de Johnstone started the story that Dickson had to be rescued by the local Jacobites from a hostile crowd

and Harrison Ainsworth adopted it to introduce his fictitious hero in his novel *The Manchester Rebels*. Johnstone was annoyed that the 180 recruits secured by his sergeant, as well as those subsequently enlisted, were formed into a separate regiment instead of being enrolled in his own forces.

Next day Prince Charles arrived on foot in highland dress and took up his residence in John Dickinson's house in Market Street, henceforth known as "The Palace", which name is still preserved in the adjoining streets. "James III" was proclaimed King at the Market Cross and recruiting continued for the Manchester Regiment, of which Colonel Townley had been appointed commander. But the results were disappointing and the number never rose above 300. The town was illuminated by candles, and Jacobites of both sexes thronged "The Palace" to show their attachment to the Prince.



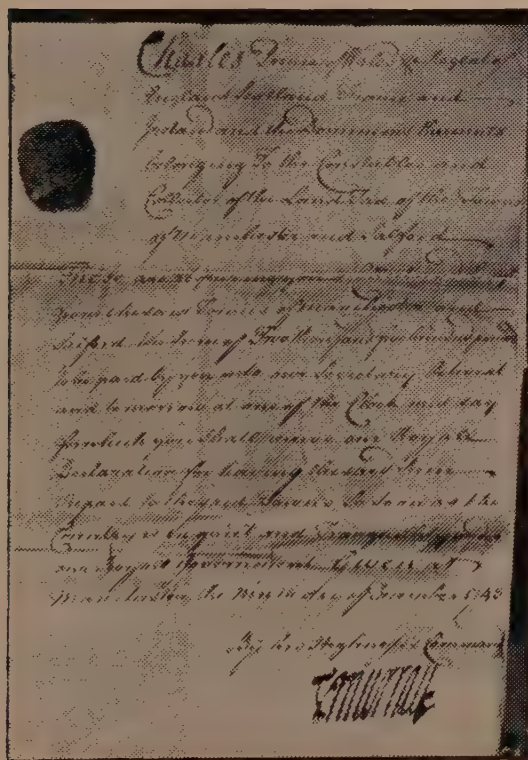
"THE PALACE"

On November 30, St. Andrew's Day, after service in the Collegiate Church, the Scottish forces began to leave the town on their way to the south. Hopes ran high until news of the retreat from Derby filtered through. Then the Whigs and Presbyterians asserted themselves, while many from the surrounding countryside, who were unfavourable to the Jacobites, entered the town.

As a party of retreating Highlanders trudged down Hanging Ditch, they were assailed with clods and mud. For this indignity the Prince, on his arrival, fined the townsmen £5,000. Attempts were made to capture Mottershead, the Presbyterian minister, and when these failed, James Bailey senior was taken as



hostage. Some of the leading inhabitants waited on the Prince and convinced him of the impossibility of raising so large a sum at once. Upon this, the fine was mitigated to one-half and James Bailey was set at liberty to help in raising this sum. At a meeting held in the "Eagle and Child" Coffee House, it was agreed that John Dickinson and James Bailey should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as should subscribe and so the money was raised by 2 p.m. next day. Wheeler, unaccountably, states that Manchester was levied on the arrival of the Highlanders and that James Bailey was taken as a hostage to Derby. But Jarvis has shown that the invaders largely lived on the public moneys which they collected and the date on the original document inflicting this fine on the town proves conclusively that it was during the retreat.



This facsimile of the original document is reproduced by kind permission of the late Sir Edward Anson; in whose family it was handed down; and the Lancs. County Record Office in whose possession it now remains. They also allowed the original document, for the first time, to be on view in the Byrom-Jacobite Exhibition at the Art Gallery, in Manchester, in 1951.







Charles Prince of Wales &c., Regent of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging. To the Constables and Collector of the Land Tax of the Towns of Manchester and Salford.

These are requiring you to Collect and Levy from the said Towns of Manchester and Salford, the Sum of Two thousand five hundred pounds to be paid by you unto our Secretary betwixt and to-morrow at one of the Clock mid day for which you shall receive our Royall Declaration for having the said Sum Repaid to the said Towns so soon as the Country is in quiet and Tranquility under our Royall Government.

GIVEN at Manchester the ninth day of December 1745.

By His Highness Command.

I. MURRAY.

The signature is that of John (Ian) Murray, the Prince's Secretary, using a wooden block stamp. (*Scottish Record Office*).

In 1951, the original order for this Levy of £2,500 came to light and was on view in the Manchester Art Gallery. It is dated December 9 and not the day following as sometimes stated. Another glaring error which this document refuted is that of the signature at its foot. This is distinctly "I. (Ian) Murray", i.e. John Murray of Broughton, the Prince's Secretary, and the Scottish Record Office confirmed this identification. Parkinson confused him with Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Forces, and the error was repeated by Hibbert-Ware. Much more inexcusably, the same mistake was repeated, with many others, by Talon. Comparison of the signature with the original of that of Lord George Murray on his orders before the battle of Culloden, in the possession of the Duke of Atholl, or of the facsimile in Winifrid Duke's book, makes this abundantly clear.

On December 10 the town was free of the Highlanders, and two days later the Duke of Cumberland arrived but only stayed one night. News of the retreating army came through fitfully and the capture of the survivors of the Manchester Regiment, after their futile attempt to defend Carlisle, thoroughly dis-



heartened the Manchester Jacobites. Most of the officers of the regiment were tried and executed, the heads of Syddall and Thomas Deacon being impaled on the top of the Exchange.

Shenstone's ballad of Jemmy Dawson is said by Miss Stott to have been inspired by the younger son of Dr. Deacon being forced to witness the execution of his eldest brother. The final overthrow of the Highlanders at Culloden Moor, on April 16, 1746, left the Jacobites with only pious hopes and sentimental memories and I have several plaques, memorials to those who fell in the Cause—"Martyred for King and Country". The only reason for jubilation was the news of the Prince's successful escape to France.

On October 19, 1746, thanksgiving for the suppression of the rebellion were offered throughout the kingdom and the Rev. B. Nichols at St. Ann's preached a bitter sermon against the "traitors". Bells rang, bonfires blazed, and different trades paraded with the badges of their occupations. In the evening every window was illuminated by candles, unwilling Jacobites being forced to join in. But even this did not prevent the houses of widow Syddall and Dr. Deacon being attacked and almost wrecked. The sermon of Josiah Owen, Nonconformist minister at Rochdale, led to an acrimonious correspondence.

Next year, William Fowden, one of the two Contables, was brought to trial for aiding and abetting the rebels. But it was proved that he had acted only by compulsion and he was acquitted.

In the travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales are the following observations:

Manchester is a remarkable instance of the good effect freedom has on trade. As this town is neither city nor corporation, but probably no more than a village, every man is at liberty to follow what occupation he pleases, without being subject to the restraint of particular laws. Hence it is grown to contain above 50,000 inhabitants, a number that can be matched in very few of our cities.

Organized Methodism began in a room overlooking the Irwell but in an attic on the north side of Blackfriars Bridge. The house itself, which stood at the lower end of the Rose and Crown yard, was three storeys high. Its lower floor was occupied by a joiner's shop, the middle floor by a newly married couple, and the garret by a woman who allowed the use of it

# Christmas Day in the

Christian awake, salute the happy Morn  
Whereon the Saviour of the World was born  
Rise to adore the mystery of Love  
Which Hosts of Angels chanted from above  
With them the joyful Tidings first began  
Of God incarnate & the Virgin's Son  
Then to the watch-tower, Asaph's it say  
They heard th' angelic Hosts Voice-bellad!

To bring ~~and~~ Feelings of the Saviour's birth  
To our land and all the Nations ~~on~~ earth  
Then hark God fulfill the promised Word

This day is born thy Saviour is the Lord  
In David city ~~where~~ we shall find  
The long for'd Redeemer of Mankind  
Brought up in swaddling Cloths, & thus the Son  
Of Wrath contains the holy Babe divine

He smite, & straightway the celestial Quire  
In Hymns of Joy unknown before inspire  
The Praises of redeeming Mercy sing  
And Heaven's whole Orb is hallow'd  
God's highest glory was their Anthem  
To our ~~land~~ Earth & mutual Groves

To Bethlehem straight W'nd'ring Repetition  
To see the wonder God had wrought for Man  
They saw their Saviour as the Angel said  
The ~~invited~~ <sup>invited</sup> Infant in the Manger laid  
Joseph & Mary a distressed Pair  
Guard the sole Object of th' angelic Care  
To human eyes none present but they two  
Where Heaven was pointing its condescended View  
Amid the wondrous Glory they proclaim  
The Annunciation ~~in the~~ <sup>in the</sup> ~~holy~~ <sup>holy</sup> ~~place~~ <sup>place</sup>  
The first prophecy of his Infant Fame  
But Mary kept & ponders in her Heart  
The heavenly Vision with the ~~beams~~ <sup>beams</sup> ~~impart~~ <sup>impart</sup>  
They to their ~~Hearts~~ <sup>Hearts</sup> & praising God return  
With Hearts no doubt & God within them born

Let us like this good Shepherd then enjoy  
Our grateful Voices to proclaim the Joy  
Like Mary let us ponder in our Mind  
Gods wondrous Love in saving lost Mankind  
Watch & watchful as their Father's Son  
While Virgin Mother in the Heart remain  
Trace ne the Babe who has retriev'd our loss  
From his poor Maner to not better Cross  
Follow ne him who has our Cause maintain'd  
And Man's first Saviour State shall be regain'd

To sing, & deck'd, a glad triumphal song.  
 He that was worn upon this joyful Day  
 Around us all his Glory shall display  
 & add us his love incessant as shall sing  
 of Angels, & of Angels men the King.

"CHRISTIANS AWAKE," BYROM'S ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

for preaching. As the coals were in one corner, her spinning wheel in another, while her bed, table and chair occupied part of the floor, the gathering of twenty to thirty persons was considerably cramped. One entrance to the yard was through an entry leading out of Deansgate and the other at the back of the Ring O' Bells public house. On each side of the Rose and Crown yard there were a number of wood-built thatched cottages but the house where the Methodists gathered was built of brick. Three years later their first chapel was built in Birchin Lane, off High Street.

Christmastide 1749 is memorable for a poem that, turned into a hymn, was to echo round the world. As a present for his younger daughter, Dolly, John Byrom wrote "Christians Awake" at his home in Hanging Ditch. Next year, a friend of the family, John Wainwright, wrote the tune which later received the name "Stockport". The original manuscript of the words is preserved in Chetham's Library, framed between two sheets of glass, but the original of the tune is lost, though Wainwright published it in 1766. Not until the beginning of the twentieth century did the fiction arise that the hymn was written at Kersal Cell.

Richard Pococke visited the town in July 1750, but his impression adds little to our knowledge.

The number of burials is only about 500 a year. There is a great manufacture here of linen and cotton, which for spinning and reeling employs most of the country round for miles. I must not omit among the curiosities Mr. Bury, one of the manufacturers, has his greenhouse full of many curious exotic plants. I drank tea with Mr. Parnell, master of the Free School, in company with Mr. Lawson, second master.

Turning to the *London Magazine* of the same year, we have the following description of Manchester :

It lies on a stony hill and has noble quarries in the neighbourhood. It exceeds all the towns in these parts for building, populousness and trade. Here has been for long a manufacture of fustians, called Manchester Cottons, much improved of late by dyeing, printing, etc. Here also are other manufactures as ticking, tape, filleting, and linen cloth; which enrich the town and neighbouring parishes. It has a spacious Market Place with a market on Saturday. . . . The Collegiate Church is very magnificent, and has a famous clock, showing the age of the moon.



The last unpleasant political incident of this period occurred on September 28, 1750, when the dragoons were called out to defend the magistrates. Happily the town had now recovered from the decay of trade caused by five years of turmoil; party fury was subsiding and sentimental memories replacing the hope of the return of the Stuarts.

Up to 1750, Manchester possessed no distinctive views on trade or empire, but in the second half of the century the whole temper and tone of life was transfigured. Commercialism was paramount. The cotton trade became rapidly the all in all of Manchester public interest and popular beliefs were wholly governed by the way in which the prosperity of that trade was affected by British and foreign and colonial policy. . . . The cotton industry arose in defiance of its unpopularity among politicians. While wool was traditionally and securely an English product, all raw cotton came from abroad, and was naturally suspected for that reason in an era when the country always held the ideal of a self sufficing empire before its eyes. (Hertz.)

## 21. Middle of the Eighteenth Century

1751-1759

THE middle of the eighteenth century saw the reform of the Calendar, when eleven days were dropped between September 3 and 14. January 1 was made the beginning of the year instead of March 25. This, at times, causes confusion in the years between these last two dates; for example, February 28, is 1751, old reckoning (O.S.) and 1752 by the reckoning now in use. (N.S.).



HARROP'S PRINTING HOUSE

Joseph Harrop began the publication of his weekly newspaper, *The Manchester Mercury*, on March 3, 1752. This striking picture of a primitive printing works adorned one of the first issues.

Describing a copy of the paper, Crofton says :

it consisted of four pages or twenty narrow columns, and the price per copy was threepence halfpenny; but as it was only issued weekly, there was always an abundant store of both home and foreign news. The paper is discoloured and the type is so small as to be a trial; but for current information, these old Manchester newspapers compare favourably with the ordinary French journal of today.

The paper obtained a good circulation as the mail was met at Derby and the latest news brought express to the office. With several changes of name, the paper continued for nearly seventy-eight years, the last issue, No. 3,672, appearing on December 28, 1830.

All the efforts of the Court Leet to secure repair of the old Market Cross having failed, a new one from the design of Oliver Nab, was erected, opposite to the corner of the Old Shambles, in March 1752.

Of the town in this year, Roeder says:

Imagine a sprightly gay, still feudal, little country town, given intensely to trade, its outskirts pretty townships loosely hanging on, divided only by hedges, fields, and lanes—the very image of a radiant little garden city. There were only 2,700 to 2,800 houses, two or three storeys high, occupied by some 18,000 souls (Salford, the sister town, included), and sprinkled picturesquely over 160 small streets, lanes and alleys, broken up pleasantly by interwoven gardens, or large bleaching, dyeing and tenter crofts, where a strong gust sufficed to blow the town clear of the mingling wreath of smoke that curled up from its modest chimneys. Education and leisure for the poor were little known. Football and youthful games were interdicted. The common diet was meal and water, porridge, oat cakes, bacon boiled or fried, rarely beef, potato pudding, herrings, turnips, beans, carrots, or some greens, seldom bread, and great quantities of thin beer.

This period saw the awakening of social consciousness and the realisation that, in the now overcrowded little town, the needs of the less fortunate inhabitants ought to receive attention. Orion Adam's *Weekly Journal*, No: 15; dated April 8, 1752, contains this announcement: "A public infirmary for this place and neighbourhood has long been talked of, and is no doubt as much wished for as it is really wanted." It ends with an intimation that some gentlemen have begun a subscription for this purpose; and a second meeting, at the Old Coffee House, on Thursday, June 4, to consider the methods proper to effect

and complete this design, was announced. To Joseph Bancroft, who offered to defray all the expenses of an infirmary for one year if no one else would join him, and to Dr Charles White, the town is indebted for the foundation of this institution.

The first infirmary was opened in Garden Street, Withy Grove, on June 24, 1752. F. S. Stancliffe has shown conclusively that this was in a substantial house, the site of which is now occupied by part of the C.W.S. buildings and not, as was earlier supposed, in two small cottages at the rear of the *Evening Chronicle* Office. The accommodation consisted of twelve beds, and the staff; one matron, a servant, and porter, to which one nurse was added in December. In the first year 75 in-, and 249 out-patients were treated.

The *New Universal Magazine*, for June 1753, published this letter.

Last Friday night, at 40 minutes after eleven, the greater part of the inhabitants of this town were terribly alarmed with a shock of an earthquake which lasted about the space of a minute, whereby numbers were wakened by the shaking of their beds. At the instant, I was sitting on the bedside undressing myself and was almost thrown with my face on the ground, and my watch was tossed from off a table whereon I had laid it. The shock was preceded or rather accompanied by a rushing noise like wind.

Richard Woodward (afterwards Bishop of Cloyne) wrote to a friend in Bristol on July 13, 1753:

Manchester is much the most modest town in respect of expense in Dress and Pleasure. No Playhouse or Public Gardens. And in their way of living very moderate. One Particular struck me very much. We were invited to a Gent: House with several of the Manchester people to spend the evening. When we arrived at 8 o'clock were surprised to be asked by the Master of the House whether we had supped. The rest of the company had supped at their respective Houses and it seems to be the general Custom not to effect entertaining expensively, for in all other respects we met with the utmost civility.

They increase here prodigiously and their Buildings and Houses are extremely good. They are quite open, and the Spirit of Party subsides, and in my private opinion would more, if there was not a Corps of Officers here, who assist in keeping up Division, for otherwise the Town of Manchester is pretty unanimous. This is partly owing to the Clergy, for Manchester College has the Fellows (4 in number) in one Party who are the Patrons of a vast number of Chaples abt, which they dispose of with a view to



Party. I imagine that it is a division in Political Opinion that prevents Industry &c. in the town. And I think it is not well judged in the Administration to keep up a trifling opposition in Manchester which must hurt the Publick by injuring their Trade, when the Opinion of one Town which sends no Members, is insignificant with respect to National Concerns.

Advertisements of small holdings in the *Manchester Mercury* frequently mention that they are fitted with buildings suitable for manufacture or trade, for example, October 23, 1753, a number of choice farms from £150 to £5, "with buildings erected thereon suitable for any farmer, grazier, or trader;"—showing the dual occupation of the farmer manufacturer.

In the same year the first theatre was built in Marsden Street and continued for twenty years. Previously travelling players had performed in the room over the first Exchange. Aston says Manchester's first theatre was a wooden erection that occupied the site afterwards covered by the Police Office at the Deansgate end of King Street, formerly the stables and yard of a carrier.



LOWER END OF KING STREET

Until this year, the small Roman Catholic community had worshipped in a dyehouse on the banks of the Irwell, where a temporary altar was set up on a trestle table. The approach was through a narrow passage and down a flight of stone steps, off the Parsonage. Here, twenty houses were placed upon the foundations of five by being built up in terraces, five in a row. The dwellings were of one storey only, of two rooms and a small yard, with a narrow flagged path to the door, guarded from the river by rails. The Reverend Edward Helme removed the congregation to a building off High Street, the location of which is marked by Roman Entry. The premises were more of a dwelling house than a chapel in the style of building.

The earliest mention of a Jewish synagogue states that it was in an upper room, through a passage called Infirmary Yard, off Garden Street, Withy Grove. At this time only a handful of believers in the Mosaic Dispensation had settled in Manchester.

At Lancaster Assizes in 1753 the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church failed in their claim for a payment of 4d a loom every Easter, from each weaver. In the days of Elizabeth I this payment had been made for the privilege of cutting timber to make looms from the woods of the College but, as these had long been cut down, the weavers now had their refusal to pay confirmed.

It was not until 1754 that Manchester was brought into direct communication with London. In that year appeared the following advertisement of the "Flying Coach": "However incredible it may appear, this coach will actually (barring accidents) arrive in London in  $4\frac{1}{2}$  days after leaving Manchester". Fare two guineas, i.e. about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d a mile.

There was an absolute failure to understand the real nature of the growing problem of poverty among the increasing mass of workers and an entire lack of sympathy with their miserable condition. Even the Reverend John Clayton, one of the most earnestly religious men of the town, was guilty of the harsh pamphlet, "Friendly Advice to the Poor", published at the request of the late and present officers of the town. His description is both unfeeling and insulting.

The poor refuse or neglect to help themselves, and thereby disable their Betters from effectually helping them. They have an abject mind, which entails their Miseries upon them; a mean

sordid Spirit; which prevents all Attempts of bettering their condition. They are so familiarised to Filth and Rags, as render them in a Manner natural; and have so little Sense of Decency, as hardly to allow a Wish for it a Place in their Hearts.

In these days of cups of tea between spells of work, his attack on tea drinkers and "all the foolish Utensials appertaining to this Junquetting and Riot" seem strange. But his attacks on the short hours of labour which increase the price of goods and the buying on credit have a familiar ring. He also denounces the small shopkeepers and in particular "the Business of retailing Milk, Butter, Coals, and so forth, are new Methods of getting a Livelihood, unknown in this town till very lately." Clayton's pamphlet was replied to jocularly and not too effectively by Joseph Stot, cobbler.

Thomas Walker, the younger, in his article "Change in Commerce", gives the following account of the strenuous life of the Manchester tradesman at this time.

I have by tradition, the following particulars of the mode of carrying on the home trade by one of the principal merchants of Manchester, who was born at the commencement of the last century, and who realised a sufficient fortune to keep a carriage when not half a dozen were kept in the town by persons connected with business. He sent the manufactures of the place into Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and the intervening counties, and principally, took in exchange feathers from Lincolnshire, and malt from Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire. All his commodities were conveyed on pack horses, and he was from home the greater part of every year, performing his journeys entirely on horseback. His balances were received in guineas and were carried with him in his saddlebags. He was exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, to great labour and fatigue and to constant danger. In Lincolnshire he travelled chiefly along bridle ways through fields where frequent gibbets warned him of his perils, and where flocks of wild fowl continually darkened the air. Business carried on in this manner required a combination of personal attention, courage, and physical strength, not to be hoped for in a deputy; and a merchant then led a much more severe and irksome life than a bag man afterwards, and still more than a traveller of the present day. In the earlier days of the merchant above mentioned, the wine merchant who supplied Manchester, resided at Preston. The wine was carried on horses, and a gallon was considered a large order. Men in business confined themselves generally to punch and ale, using wine only as medicine, or on extraordinary occasions; so that a considerable

tradesman somewhat injured his credit amongst his neighbours by being so extravagant as to send to a tavern for wine to entertain a London customer.

It must be remembered that, as yet, no pure cotton had been made in Manchester. Fustian, made with linen warp and cotton weft, was the basis of the trade, while scarcely less important, were the small wares, laces, tapes, pins, etc. Linen and silk were woven in the town in considerable quantities and woollen manufacture had not been entirely superseded. Most of the local trade was done by "Chapmen" whose strings of pack-horses carried their goods from town to town, often bringing back wool to towns and villages on their return journey.

All these manufacturing processes were still carried on in the workers' homes where many continued to work on their own account, buying their own raw material and selling their finished cloth freely as they wished.

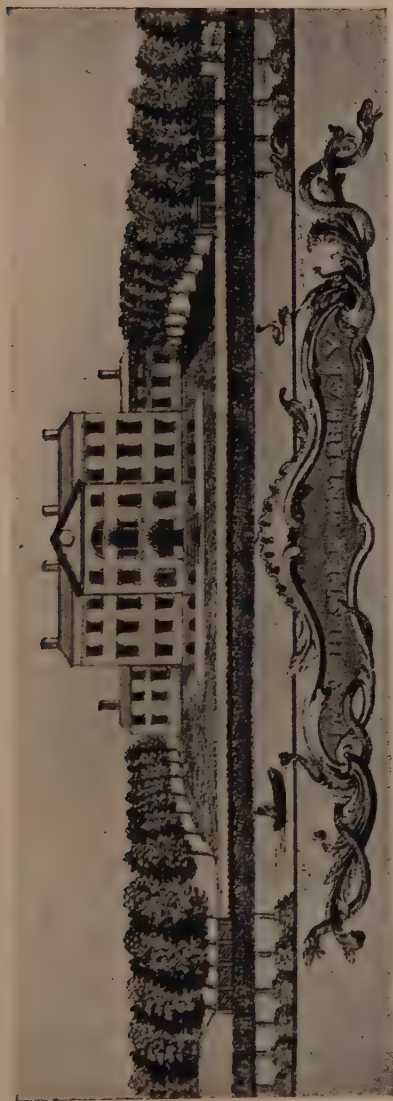
But about 1750, Guest tells us fustian masters began to give out warp and raw cotton, paying the weaver for the weaving and spinning when they received the cloth. The weaving of a piece took a fortnight, for which the worker received 14s; spinning the weft 9s; picking, carding and roving 9s. When he had woven his pieces, the fustian master sold them in the grey, in Manchester, to the merchant who had them dyed and finished. Thus the foundations of an export trade and the employment of paid "hands" was established before the coming of the industrial revolution.

Nothing in these days could be done in a hurry. The traveller to Liverpool could comfortably accomplish his journey of some thirty miles by nightfall—the tedium pleasantly relieved by breakfast at Irlam, dining at Warrington, and drinking tea at Prescott.

The increasing trade of the town is shown by the introduction in 1755, of a postal service on six days of the week, to various parts of the country, instead of only three days. The official announcement was published in Whitworth's *Manchester Magazine*, on October 14.

By next year, the original infirmary had proved too small and a new building, designed for the purpose, was erected at a cost of over £2,000. The site selected was in the highest part of the town at the end of Market Sted Lane, surrounded by pasture





MANCHESTER INFIRMARY (Piccadilly), 1755

lands and crofts; removed from the stir of the bustling little community of the time; 150 feet above sea level, with pure air and unlimited room for extension. Sir Oswald Mosley leased the land for a nominal rent of £6 per annum. The original building contained eighty beds. This building had a brick exterior until about 1834 when it was faced with stone. "Daub-holes", the name of the site, arose from the clay or daub which had been obtained from it for the buildings which preceded the use of brick. The cavity thus formed was filled by the fine sheet of water, which was kept pure by a daily admission of a fresh supply. The whole was railed round and the adjacent grounds were laid out in flower beds and walks, so that it became a popular resort.

An enumeration of the population in 1756 gave a total of about 16,530. To meet the needs of this growth, St. Mary's Church in the Parsonage was built and consecrated. Increased interest in reading led to the foundation of the Circulating Library in King Street. This library was the joint property of about 370 subscribers. The price of an Admission and Proprietary Ticket, which was transferable by sale or legacy, was five guineas and each member paid 15s yearly.

The most urgent problem facing the authorities in 1756 was how to provide food for the increasing number of inhabitants, especially in view of the previous years of dearth. Although manorial officials were threatened with prosecution for failing to prosecute engrossers and forestallers, the price of bread rose 20 per cent in three months. In December, a Committee of townsmen was formed to bring in flour for sale to the poor at cost, and £1,500 worth was so disposed of in the next April.

The imperfect state of the communications leading to and from Manchester, rendered it a matter of some difficulty at certain seasons, to provide food for so large a population. In winter when the roads were closed the place was in the condition of a beleaguered town, and even in summer, the land about Manchester itself being comparatively sterile, the place was badly supplied with fruit, vegetables, and potatoes, which, being brought from considerable distances slung across horses' backs, were so dear as to be beyond the reach of the mass of the population. Thus a great scarcity of food occurred in Manchester and the neighbourhood in 1757, which the common people attributed to the millers and corndealers. The popular hunger and excitement increasing, at length broke out in open outrage. (Smiles).

On Tuesday, June 7, two women who considered the price of potatoes in the market unreasonable, over-turned the sacks and the contents were seized by others and carried away. Some now made their way to the Meal House but were driven off, except a few who were taken prisoner. Meanwhile, another mob had plundered a cartload of meal on its way to market. Those taken at the Meal House were released after two hours and bidden to go home. Instead of doing so they gathered others and attacked the shop of a Corn factor at Hyde's Cross and carried off his bread. The officers of the town seized two women, who had been among the rioters at the Meal House, and imprisoned them in the Dungeon on the Old Bridge. But their fellow rioters broke open the prison with hammers and rescued them. Flushed with this success they returned to Hyde's Cross and carried off grain, flour, meal and cheese. The principal inhabitants and their servants, armed with stout sticks, drove off the mob and secured the peace of the town for that night. Next morning, news came that colliers from Clifton were invading the town but they were driven off by the townsmen. The High Sheriff of Lancashire, James Bayley, with a well-armed following, came into the town at three o'clock and traversed the principal streets. After several admonitions by the Sheriff, the mob disbanded. On Thursday morning, thirty special constables were appointed and they mounted guard until a body of Dragoons arrived on Sunday evening.

A much more serious riot, generally known as "Shudehill Fight", broke out months later in November 1757. On Saturday the 12th, some rioters from Ashton-under-Lyne came to Manchester and advanced on the Meal House, but this was guarded by the "Invalids", i.e., old soldiers stationed in the town at the time, and the mob was driven off. In the evening, some of the town's rabble attacked Travis Mill, Chetham, but retreated when shots were fired. On Monday, rioters plundered many of the shops in Ashton-under-Lyne and next day attacked Clayton Mills, where they did a great deal of damage, and from thence proceeded to Manchester. Being met by the High Sheriff, they demanded that oatmeal should be sold at 20s., potatoes at 4s. a load and flour at five farthings a pound. He told them it was impossible for him to face the farmers or to do any such thing. One of the mob attacked the High Sheriff with a scythe, but he was unhurt. Retreating to Shudehill where the

Invalids were drawn up, these were attacked with stones and brickbats. After several of his men had been injured and his corporal killed, the commanding officer gave the order to fire. Two of the rioters were killed and also a youth, an innocent spectator in a tree. Many others were wounded some of whom were taken to the infirmary. Next day (Tuesday the 15th), the officers sent the Bellman round, bidding the inhabitants keep in their houses because of the danger. Again the rioters were driven out of the town but, on their way, made a further attack on Travis Mill and a building near by. An express was sent to the Secretary of War on Wednesday, November 23, Dragoons arrived from York, and two days later, two companies of Foot came from Derby with orders to protect the town of Manchester and to suppress riots or disturbances by force. The Invalids returned to Liverpool.

Of Tim Bobbin's *Truth in a Mask*, or *Shudehill Fight*, Raines says:

It was a profane squib, aimed at the trustees of the Grammar School Mills, attempting, to imitate the style of the sacred writings. Collier's satire lacked point, his wit finish, and his fun the true Attic salt. Unredeemed vulgarity and personal rudeness are everywhere conspicuous and nothing but melancholy reflections arise upon reading his coarsely imagined attack upon the Holy Scriptures, and next upon two such men as Byrom and Clayton.

The first mention of a sugar refinery in the town occurs in the Constables' Accounts on December 10 of this year, where there is the entry: "To a messenger for the Coroner at Rochdale a man scalded to death in the sugar house in Manchester."

According to the Annual Register, one, if not the earliest cotton strike, occurred in 1758. There were prodigious riots in Manchester; nearly 10,000 manufactures (i.e., operatives) had left work and entered into a combination to raise wages. Sums had been collected by the leaders to pay the poorer sort while they refused to work. Business was at a standstill and magistrates were afraid to act, while everything was in confusion. A Bill of Indictment was made out against seventeen or eighteen of the ringleaders, but there is no report of the results.

Much resentment had long been felt against the ancient obligation to grind corn and grain at the water driven School Mills on the Irk and, in 1759, an Act was secured releasing the



inhabitants except as regards malt. Prices given in this year were as follows: Rent of weaver's cottage with 2 loom shop, 40s. to 45s. a year; land, 40s. an acre; oats, 2s. for 45 lb.; wheat, 5s. for 70 lb.; meal, 20s. a load; malt, 23s. a load; cheeses, 3d. a lb.; beef, 2d a lb.; mutton, 9d. a lb.

The taking of Quebec was celebrated with more than ordinary enthusiasm in the town, 6s. being spent on a bonfire and the unusually large sum of £8 11s. 9d. on wine.



MANCHESTER, ABOUT 1760

This is a section from Randolph's "Elevation of Manchester and Salford", which appeared in the *British Architect* for January 27, 1893.

## 22. *Early Years of George III*

1760-1774

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IN 1760 Manchester was no larger than many of the villages of today, and the population of the town together with Salford, did not exceed 20,000. In area it was proportionately small, not extending beyond the top of the present Market Street, known then as Market Street Lane, which was lined on either side with houses, but behind them on both sides were fields and gardens. At its lower end was the Market Place, more important to our forefathers than it is today. There stood the Exchange somewhere near to what is now the corner of Market Street and Victoria Street; the Conduit, which still supplied that part of the town with water; the new Market Cross, with the stocks and pillory close by. At the corner of the Shambles, Phebe Byrom carried on the linen draper's shop, which her grandfather had established over one hundred years before. Piccadilly and beyond was covered with fields. Around Christ Church, (now the Cathedral), clustered cottages taking up Old Millgate, Hanging Ditch, Long Millgate, and Hunt's Bank, this last between the church and the river. Only a footpath through the churchyard led to the Irk. Deansgate was lined with houses on both sides as far as Spinning Fields—then veritable fields; King Street, then the fashionable part of the town, contained houses on both sides. But Albert Square and the site of the Town Hall were covered by fields.

Aston gave a hearsay account of education in the early days of George III. He dilated humorously on the embroidery and the making of paper flowers and fruit by girls who regularly walked two and two to church on Sundays. Owing to there being only half a dozen spinets and harpsichords in the town, the ability to play was a rare accomplishment. Two dancing masters prepared the young ladies for coming out at the local Assemblies. But his highest praise is for Mrs. Blomely's finishing

school situated in an entry off Smithy Door, where that matron taught all the culinary acquirements considered necessary for the future housewife. His remark that only the Grammar School provided for boys, must be modified by the fact that several of the local clergy took pupils. Besides learning to dance with the young ladies, there were two drawing schools for young men while they could also learn the art of sword play from Mr. Bury Bridge.

Amusements were provided at the theatre in Marsden Street where "strip tease" was a comic relief. But this was provided by the sexton as he prepared the grave for Ophelia. "Punch and Judy" were used to deal out local scandal and personal abuse. Amateur concerts were performed at Day's Coffee House, where ten single-keyed German flutes provided harmony. A taste for fine art is shown by the high price of 10s. paid to Tim Bobbin for his sketches. From the *Manchester Mercury* of 1760, we learn that a flying machine travelled from Manchester to London in three days. Inside passengers: fare 45s. with allowance of 14 lbs. of luggage; over this weight 3d. per lb. extra; outside passengers and children on the lap were charged half price. Starting at the Royal Oak Inn, Market Street Lane, the first stop for the night was at Derby, Northampton the second night, reaching London the third, the journey to be performed "God Willing".

The growth and prosperity of the town led to the conception and completion of a great project. At that time, coal was brought by pack horse in two baskets, each containing about 140 lb., and was doubled in price by the time it reached Manchester from the Duke of Bridgewater's collieries at Worsley. Moreover, the Mersey and Irwell Navigation refused to grant any concession on their standard rate of 3s. 4d. a ton and, in addition, there would have been the cost of carrying the coal to the river at one end and from it at the other. Some idea of the tediousness of the river navigation may be formed from the fact that the boats were dragged up and down stream exclusively by the labour of men.

It was this demand for cheaper coal that led to the construction of the Bridgewater Canal and, when the first barge load arrived on July 17, 1761, coal fell from 7d. to 3½d. a cwt. The supply also became regular instead of intermittent. But the full advantage was not felt until many years later when, after the

invention of the steam engine, a cheap and abundant supply of fuel was of vital importance to the growth and prosperity of Manchester

A path in the water has been lost by the silting up of the Medlock, which effectually stopped the supply of coals by boat to Bank Top, (now London Road). From the river the coals were conveyed through a culvert upon the bosom of Shooter's Brook, whence they were hauled by a gin, which is depicted on a jug dated 1797. It requires an effort of the imagination to realise that this was used in a simple one-storey house, surrounded by trees and fields, where now is Piccadilly Station.

Knott Mill Fair was founded to celebrate the opening of the Bridgewater Canal. It was purely a pleasure fair lasting three days. At first the fair was held in the open ground between the Bridgewater wharf and the end of a rural lane, (now Jackson Street). The Lord of the Manor took tolls and, in 1806, removed the fair to fields in Liverpool Road.

With the accession of George III, the House of Hanover was firmly established on the throne. The doctrine of the Divine Rights of Kings was eclipsed and a new system of politics was inaugurated. Jacobitism faded away to a romantic memory. Although the old political names remained their meaning changed; Tories emphasising the power and prestige of the monarchy, while Whigs were more inclined to democratic government.

On September 22, 1761, the Coronation of George III was celebrated gaily in Manchester. The day began with the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, while the various trades formed companies, and the people assembled to see the procession, which at 3 p.m. was headed by Edward Byrom, the Borough-reeve and gentlemen. Several sheep and oxen were roasted whole, while at three stages, The Cross, St Ann's Square, and Withy Grove, beer and wine were freely distributed to the populace. Silk and worsted weavers were in the procession, but no cotton weavers. The few then employed in that branch, perhaps walked with the weavers of more common fabrics. The gentlemen dined and wined at the Bull's Head and the Old Coffee House, whence they went to the Exchange for the evening.

Until 1761, the Old Bridge was the only means of communi-



cation between the two towns. But a theatrical company, which had hired a riding school in Salford, and wished to give better access to their patrons from Manchester, built a wooden footbridge. Ironically they called it “Blackfriars Bridge” after the one of that name then being built in London. On the Manchester side the approach was through the Ring O’ Bells entry and down thirty-four steps. When the company went away they left the footbridge for public use, free of toll.



OLD BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE

The Constables Accounts for 1762 and 1763 contain various charges in connection with the riot that took place on Monday, July 12 of the former year. A disorderly mob attacked the premises of George Bramall, corn factor, and carried off grain, flour, beans and oatmeal; rendering unserviceable what was not stolen. They destroyed his house and furniture and looted the shops and houses of other corn dealers. Ranging round the town, they compelled householders and other shopkeepers to give them liquor and money. Proceeding to a local mill, they threw grain, flour and meal into the river, to spoil what they could not carry away. In all the damage was estimated to be not less than £1,000. The military were brought in to restore order and a number of the rioters were arrested and tried at Lancaster.

*The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* of 1762, in the

course of a series of articles on the Natural History of England. has the following interesting passages about Manchester.

The Irk, though a small river is noted for the fattest eels, owing to the grease and oil pressed by the number of water mills upon it, out of the woollen cloths that are therein milled. Some of the principal manufactures are fustians called Manchester Cottons, velverts, checkes, linen cloth, ticking, tapes, gatherings, and filletings, of which great quantities are exported especially to the West Indies, and supply most of the counties of England, besides which they have a pretty considerable manufacture of hats, particularly of low price Carolinas. The river greatly contributes or is made subservient to their manufactures, there being no less than 300 mills. The weavers here have looms that work 24 or 30 laces at a time, an invention for which they are obliged to the Dutch.

There is a mineral spring near Manchester, the smell of whose water is very sulphureous at all times and has been found of great efficacy in all cases where bathing is necessary. There is also a petrifying water at a place called Colliarst. (Collyhurst).

At this time only eight flats were employed on the rivers in the trade between Liverpool and Manchester. This year, 1763, saw a revival of party spirit when plans were made to erect Manchester into a borough. There were three religious parties, the High Church at the Collegiate Church, the Low Church mainly at St. Ann's, and the Dissenters centred at Cross Street. It was agreed that, when created, the government of the Borough should be exercised by a certain number of inhabitants representing the three parties. But the first named, fearing they would be out-voted by a combination of the other two, opposed the scheme, and when they were successful, celebrated their triumph by an extravagant festival which became known as "Chorlton Rant".

Harrop has this note in *The Mercury* under date 13th Dec. :—  
"Last week a very curious and elegant Clock, made by Mr Hindley of York, was completely finished and affixed in our Collegiate Church. It is allowed, by all judges, to be the best constructed thing of the kind ever seen in this Country and gives great satisfaction to the whole parish".

By 1764 the value of cotton goods exported reached the sum of £200,254, whereas it had been only £5,915 sixty-seven years earlier. Internal trade was greatly expanded by the development of the practice of sending "outriders", with patterns, all over the kingdom, instead of the former custom of hawking the goods

from place to place. These forerunners of the modern commercial travellers were also called “bag men” and the goods they sold from their samples were afterwards forwarded by carrier’s wagon. Another indication of the increasing growth of the town is that the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church secured an act enabling them to grant leases for building upon some of the glebe lands. A letter of 1764 draws attention to the disgraceful state of things in the churchyard. “Every stranger of any delicacy must be shocked. . . . I here saw several graves digging and many human bones carelessly tossed about even in the footpath.”

The first glimmer of civic pride appeared in 1765 when “An Act for cleansing and lighting the streets, lanes and passages within the Towns of Manchester and Salford in the County Palatine of Lancaster; and for providing fire engines and fire men; and for preventing annoyances within the said towns,” was secured. Commissioners, who included the Boroughreeve and Constables, the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, and certain owners or occupiers of buildings of the yearly value of £30 or more, were empowered to levy a rate of 1s. in the £ the first year and 6d. in the £ in any subsequent year, on property over £3 in annual value.

The first attempt to work a number of looms together by machinery was in Mr. Gartside’s factory, near Garratt Hall, where a number of swivel looms were worked by a water wheel.

The manufactures called Manchester wares, such as fustians, cottons, tapes, incle, &c., are sent on pack horses to London, Bristol, Liverpool &c., for exporting, and also to wholesale haberdashers for home consumption, whence the other towns of England are likewise served, or by the Manchester men themselves, who travel from town to town throughout the kingdom. Of these goods, they make at Manchester, Bolton and the neighbouring places, above £600,000. (Postlethwayt).

The Manchester Agricultural Society, instituted for the purpose of promoting and encouraging the useful arts and sciences of life, was established in 1767, and since that period, has distributed many premiums for valuable discoveries. One object of this society cannot be too warmly recommended, nor can it be too much imitated; that of granting premiums to cottagers who support their families without parochial aid. Honest and good servants are also rewarded by honorary presents. (Britton).

By 1768 the extension of the town southwards along Deans-



gate led to the building of St. John's Church. Edward Byrom, the younger, who had inherited property from both sides of his family, was the founder.

Next year Mrs. Elizabeth Raffald, from her confectioner's shop in the Market Place near the Bull's Head, issued her "Experienced English House Keeper, wrote purely from practice . . . Consisting of nearly 800 Original Receipts, most of which have never appeared in print." She also instituted in the town that very useful but, since her day, much-abused institution, a Registry Office for domestic servants.

In 1770 the rent of a dwelling house that stood at the corner of St. Ann's Square and St. Ann's Street was £20 a year, with these rates: Poor Rates, 6s.; highway rate, 7s.; window tax, 17s.; house tax, 3s. 9d.; lamp tax, 4s.; Easter dues, 9½d. For the price of food we find: a leg of mutton, 10 lb., 3s. 9d.; 13¾ lb., of beef, 3s. 3d.; bread, 5d. and 6d. a loaf, no weight stated; salmon, 2 lb., 1s.; potatoes, ½d. a lb., a load 2s. 6d.; coals, 18 baskets to the load 9s. 9d. The cost of attire of ladies and gentlemen and the prices of vegetables, poultry, groceries and fuel are given by Mrs. Hibbert-Ware. A chaise to Oldham cost 8s.; to Stockport 11s. 6d.; to Ashton 6s. This year also saw the foundation of a Subscription Library for Promoting General Knowledge. Shares were 10s. each and the annual subscription 6s.

The first volume of Whitaker's *History of Manchester* was published and, although it was largely imaginary and its early maps completely unreliable, it awakened the interest of the people in the beginnings of their home town. His work has been well described as "An Antiquarian Romance." Roeder says: "his two large volumes have carefully to be studied through, and a few golden grains have to be extracted from the heap of dross that covers them." Saintsbury describes him as "treading water in the sea of conjecture for steady progress over the solid land of fact." Francis Douce says: "For a single fact there are twenty conjectures," and Ritson describes it as "a fabulous work." Samuel Clarke in his *Lancashire Gazetteer* says: "It is written in a truly fustian style, and how the author could fill two quartos without bringing his subject so low as the Conquest is surprising; his positive assertions, his weak authorities, and his wrong headed conjectures, early exposed his work to shafts of criticism and by no one was it more severely handled than by Tim Bobbin, under the name of Muscipula; most readers will





MRS. ELIZABETH RAFFALD

agree with his conclusion that in Mr. Whitaker's History there is no consistency, little truth, and less shame." Professor Redford, in our own day, refers to Whitaker as "Author of a most fantastic History of Manchester in two volumes."

Increased interest in music originated the Gentlemen's Concert Club. Not only the local trade in produce but a great deal of the long-distance carrying was by pack horse or wagons. There were 42 carriers engaged in the trade of Manchester, going out to 31 different towns.

Arthur Young says:

Manchester manufactures are divided into four branches—the fustian, the check, the hat, the worsted smallwares. All these are sub-divided into numerous branches, of distinct and separate work . . . All sorts of cotton are used but chiefly the West Indian.

He gives the wages of the men, women, and children in each sub-division of manufacture: men, 3s. to 10s.; women, 3s. to 7s. 6d.; children, 1s. 6d. to 3s. according to the particular process, and adds,

Both for the good of the masters and the working people, high prices are more advantageous than low ones. . . . All in general may constantly have work that will; and the employment is very regular; the master manufacturers not staying for orders before the people are set to work but keep, on the contrary, a great many hands in pay in expectation of the spring orders. . . . It is well known by every master manufacturer in Manchester that the workmen who are industrious, rather more so than the common run of their brethren, have never been in want in the highest of the late high prices. Large families in this place are no encumbrance; all are set to work. America takes three fourths of all the manufactures of Manchester.

It must be remembered that this employment of children was not new. Where the relatives employed the children it simply meant that the old system of child labour was transferred from the home to the factory.

Dr. Percival's report in 1771, on part of the water supply, was not very encouraging.

The Manchester pump water is in general very hard and impure; it is impregnated with a large quantity of selenite, and contains no inconsiderable proportion of alum. Neither malt nor tea produce any softening effect on the hard water in which they are infused. . . . The inhabitants of this place are peculiarly subject to glandular obstructions and scrophulous swellings.

Water loaded with stringent, earthy salt, has a direct tendency to produce such complaints.

The merchants of Manchester had been in the habit of receiving deposits from private individuals, giving their personal bonds for security, and paying interest at 5 per cent. These deposits were employed in their business, as much to their own advantage as that of the depositors. Mrs. Hibbert-Ware gives a list of such deposits with Titus Hibbert & Sons, varying from £10 to over £1,000. Harrop's *Manchester Mercury*, November 12, 1771, has the following advertisement: "Notice is hereby given that the Manchester Bank together with an Office of Insurance from Fire, will be opened on Monday, the 2nd of Dec.; next under the Firm and Direction of Byrom, Sedgwick, Allen and Place." Such was the commencement of banking in Manchester as an independent commercial undertaking. Situated at the corner of St. Ann's Square, the bank gave rise to the name Bank Street, (now Old Bank Street), at the side of the Royal Exchange.

Until this time, colonies were regarded as the one safe and lasting market for cotton goods, three-quarters of the shipments of which, in 1771, went to North America.

In 1772 the *First Manchester Directory* was issued by Mrs. Raffald, at a price of 6d., and was reprinted in facsimile in 1889. It was an old-fashioned octavo pamphlet, with a green paper cover. Forty-six pages contain the Directory proper, while the other fourteen are devoted to miscellaneous matter. The number of names is about 1,150, most of which represents families or firms engaged in trade. In addition there are 119 names of county manufacturers who, either had warehouses in town, or visited it on market days. In addition to the many familiar occupations, there are many interesting ones that have since died out; for example, James Baguley, was a "Chairman", i.e., one who hired out sedan chairs to carry people about; Paul Harris was a patten maker. Pattens were wooden soles slipped on over the shoes to lift them out of the mud of the badly-paved streets. There was a harpsichord maker in Tib Lane; a pen maker, (quill), in Deansgate; a Liverpool news-carrier and, of course, a bellman. There were only two residents whose names began with Mac and four Jones. In the second edition printed the next year, the houses were numbered, Manchester being the first provincial town to adopt that much-needed reform.



THE  
MANCHESTER DIRECTORY,

For the Year 1777.

Containing an Alphabetical List of the

MERCHANTS, TRADESMEN,  
And Principal INHABITANTS

In the Town of

MANCHESTER,

WITH

The Situation of their respective Warehouses,  
And Plans of Abores.

ALSO SEPARATE LISTS OF

The Country Tradesmen,  
with their Warehouses in  
Manchester.

The Officers of the Infirmary  
and Lunatic Hospital.  
Of the Excise.

The principal Wharves,  
Stage-Coaches, Waggon, and  
Carriers, with their Days of  
coming in and going out.

The Vessels to and from Liverpool, upon the Old Navigation, and Docks of  
Bridgewaters Canal, and  
their Agents.

Manchester Bank, and In-  
terchange Office.

His Majesty's Offices of the  
Peace in and near Man-  
chester.

AND THE

COMMITTEE for the Detection and Prosecution of Felons,  
and Receivers of Robbery or embezzled Goods.

L O N D O N.

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by R. BALDWIN,  
No. 47, Pater-noster-row.

And by the AUTHOR at Manchester.



Thomas Tinker's plan of Manchester, published in 1772, exhibits the extension and improvement in the town during the past twenty odd years. Blackfriars wooden bridge is marked and so are Brown Street and Quay Street, St. Paul's church, Turner Street, first appears on this plan. The continuation of Hunter's Lane is named Cannon Street and the gardens between this and Market Street have given place to buildings. The Daub Holes Infirmary is shown.

Piccadilly is marked, "Road to London" and an intended Street, (now Oldham Street), is indicated. From Deansgate there is the street to St. John's Church and the present Bridge Street is marked out. Spring Gardens seems to bear the name Radcliffe Street and a narrow lane marks the line of Mosley Street. Tinker's plan names about eighty streets, and nearly two hundred additional streets, lanes and places are indicated.

Manchester at this time, was entirely self-contained. Everything belonging to the town proper lay within five minutes walk of the Exchange. Deansgate extended only to Yate Street, (now Peter Street). A country lane led to Humphrey's Gardens, between Deansgate and the Exhibition Hall, to which the townsfolk went for fruit and vegetables. At the corner of Lower Mosley Street and Peter Street (on the site of the Midland Hotel) was Cooper's Cottage with its garden rich in flowers and strawberries. Along Mount Street were four or five old cottages, while on the rising ground called The Mount, was the windmill to which the adjoining street owes its name. At the other end, the town stopped at the Hanging or Hollow Ditch. Across the Hanging Bridge which still remains in its original position, a footpath led through the churchyard to a small low bridge over the Irk. The buildings on the west side of the churchyard, next to the river were built on the rock. Opposite the church tower was the Ring o' Bells public house, near which a flight of thirty-two steps descended to the river. From the building adjoining the Ring o' Bells was an unsightly piece of waste ground shelving down from the churchyard to the river. This was called "Tin Brow". It was a favourite place to shoot rubbish and even human bones from the graveyard. Rows of mean cottages and two more public houses, the Black-a-Moor's Head and the Flying Horse, filled up the space to the soapery and chandlery at the other end. There was a lovely walk by the river Irk, from Hunt's Bank to Scotland Bridge. Long Millgate was the chief

thoroughfare to Red Bank and the north. The steep, narrow and winding Market Sted Lane ended at High Street and the river Tib, which rose from a spring in Miles Platting, was the boundary of the town in this direction.

Between 1773 and 1774, at the joint expense of a few gentlemen of the town, the first accurate census of the population was made. Manchester Township contained 22,481 residents, and the out-townships 13,786. The original MSS. in 3 volumes are in Chetham's Library. In Manchester and Salford the streets and house numbers are given, but no names. Manchester Township fills Vol. I; the out-townships Vol. II, and Salford Vol. III.

When the Reverend E. Helme, who had travelled from Macclesfield once a month to minister to the little congregation died he left £200 for the benefit of Manchester Catholics. His successor built the house and chapel called St. Chad's, in Rook Street, off West Mosley Street. The premises consisted of a number of rooms on the ground floor as a residence for the priest and over them the chapel extended, with galleries on three sides. Outwardly it resembled a dwelling house, but within was a handsomely-decorated altar surmounted by three beautiful paintings. From the upper windows the Derbyshire hills could be seen. St Chad's was opened on June 23, 1776, and remained in use until 1846 when the building was sold. Later this was destroyed by fire, so no trace is now left.

An Act to regulate the sale of cotton, passed in this year, speaks of "New manufactured goods made of raw cotton wool which hath been lately set up within this kingdom", and declares this to be a lawful and laudable manufacture. From this time the making of pure cotton goods became lawful but a duty of 3*d.* a square yard was imposed upon any piece that was printed, painted or stained. By the middle of the century the wearing of pure cotton underclothing became common among the middle classes. The increased cleanliness that ensued must have contributed to the increased self-respect which is so essential a factor in social progress.

On February 1, 1774, the Committee for the Protection and Encouragement of Trade was formed for the purpose of obtaining a larger supply of raw cotton, for removing legislative restrictions on the new and growing manufacture, and for opposing Arkwright's application to Parliament for extension to his patents. This Committee continued to exercise its functions

until June 24, 1782, when another was elected to take its place.

This same year, the House of Correction was rebuilt and enlarged from a levy of £500 on the Salford Hundred. The building stood on the site of the present Palatine Buildings. It was originally erected soon after 1575 for the punishment of vagrants; a few years later, it became a prison for recusants. It was enlarged again in 1782; but the Act for this work was not specially enacted for Manchester as Baines says. The House of Correction was visited by John Howard, who, in 1792, reported favourably on its condition. At that time it contained twenty-one prisoners. Aston gives this description of the building and its inmates :

The upper part is of brick interlaid with oak spars and hence very secure, the lower consisting of cells cut in the rock and aired by funnels communicating with the atmosphere. To these there is an iron grate of singular contrivance to secure prisoners upon locking up from any attempts upon the governor or his assistants.

It was not very secure, to judge by advertisements in the *Mercury*, offering rewards for the recapture of escaped prisoners.

The cells were, we are told, lighted from the streets and the prisoners, by the help of bags let down from the grated windows, were almost constantly employed in soliciting the charity of passers-by, pleading not only poverty and sickness, but innocence of the crimes of which they were accused. The profits of their petitionary bags were, too often, exchanged for spirituous liquors, which were very improperly permitted to be sold in the house.



HOUSE OF CORRECTION

## 23. *The First Town Planning*

1775-1782

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**T**HOMAS MAURICE in his "Memoirs" gives an interesting account of the introduction of the cotton trade and of his visit to Manchester in 1775.

The manufacture of cotton in this country is comparatively but of modern date, owing to the decided preference naturally given to that of our great staple commodity, wool. In this line, and for a variety of other manufactures of a coarser sort of goods to which it imparts its name, Manchester has been famous for two centuries past. However, some of these might pass under the name of Manchester cottons, no very great importations of genuine cotton have taken place there from abroad till within these few years past. What was anciently imported into Britain generally came to us from the Levant, and was principally used, we are informed, for candle wicks. When the East India Company's ships brought over in such infinite variety, and at such high a price, the fine chintzes, calicoes, and other beautiful productions of the Indian loom, a generous emulation was kindled in the breast of the British merchant and manufacturer to rival them. Cotton, in the raw material, was soon imported in vast quantities, not only from America and the West Indies, but by way of Ostend, from India itself. The privileged merchant, too, imported it largely from Surat, and other parts of the Malabar Coast, and hence Liverpool, being the nearest port to the great manufacturing town of Lancashire, became the great emporium of the traffic in this important article.

At the period of our visit to Manchester, the bustle of active commerce was conspicuous throughout the town, and every house among the poorer class might be called a factory, from the number of hands and of spinning wheels in perpetual motion. . . . To all the ingenious processes of preparing the cotton, from the first carding of it to the completion of the fabric, we gave minute attention. It would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the well-known velvet manufacture of the place. . . . Manchester, at this period, was rather in a progressive state to grandeur than the magnificent place which it has since become. It could boast even then, however, a noble square or two, and many elegant and



spacious streets, while new squares and new streets of still greater extent and elegance were everywhere rising around.

A folio MS. in the Central Reference Library shows that Manchester's first enterprise in improving its ancient thoroughfares was enthusiastically, widely and liberally supported. As there were no rates to meet the cost of improvements, on March 2, 1775, public subscriptions were invited and in fourteen days four-fifths of the sum required had been subscribed.

MANCHESTER, 2d MARCH, 1775.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed being desirous of restoring the peace and Harmony of the Town and willing to join in any general approved mode of raising money in order to render some of the narrow Streets and passages more convenient; Do hereby severally agree that we will within three Months from the date hereof pay the several Sums of money set opposite to our respective names into the hands of such person or persons as a Majority in value of the Subscribers of twenty pounds or upwards shall appoint, after the Subscription shall be filled, for the purposes hereafter mentioned Viz.

For purchasing a sufficient part of the houses and Buildings on the easterly side of the old Millgate, so as to make the Street of a proper and convenient Breadth.

For purchasing such part of the Houses and Buildings in St. Mary's Gate, as will be sufficient to make that Street of a proper and convenient Breadth.

For purchasing all or such part of the Houses and Buildings between the Exchange and St. Ann's Square, as may be judged necessary for widening the passage.

The above improvements to be directed by a Majority of the Subscribers present at a meeting to be convened by notice in one or both of the Manchester News papers, who shall also direct what Buildings shall be first taken down, or what Improvements shall be first made, as well as all other matters not hereby particularly expressed for which purposes the Subscribers may appoint a Committee if they think proper.

That every Subscriber of Twenty Pounds shall have one Vote, every Subscriber of forty pounds two Votes, every Subscriber of sixty pounds three Votes, and so in proportion for every additional twenty pounds which he or she shall subscribe.

If any owners or occupiers of Houses or buildings which may be judged necessary to be taken down shall refuse to convey their estate or interest therein, at such value as twelve indifferent persons (six to be nominated by the owner or occupier and six by a majority of the Subscribers) shall agree upon within four months from the date hereof; or if it shall appear that any of the Houses or Buildings necessary to be taken down for the purposes aforesaid are in Settlement or otherwise so circumstanced that no lawful Consent can be obtained for taking them down, then that application shall be made to Parliament the next Session for an Act to enable the Subscribers to effectuate the purposes intended by the Subscription.

Provided always that in Case the Sum of ten thousand pounds or upwards shall not be subscribed and actually paid within four Months next ensuing the date of the Subscription then the Subscription shall cease and be void: And all monies that may have been paid shall be returned to the respective Subscribers who shall have paid the same.

## OBJECTS OF SUBSCRIBERS' FUND FOR FIRST STREET PLANNING

In clear, neat writing, the objects of the subscription were set forth, followed by twenty pages bearing the names of the subscribers and the respective amounts contributed. On July 25, the secretary announced a total of £10,771 3s. 6d. and the "Act for widening and improving several streets in the town of Manchester and for opening new streets and passages within the said town", was obtained. Bearing in mind the value of money in those days and the fact that the population was only 22,481, we are better able to appreciate the magnificent spirit of those inhabitants who commenced this task. A Broadside issued in the previous January, had advocated 1. a tax on every house,

2. a lottery, 3. a toll on turnpikes and tonnage on waterways, but these were all rejected. Two schedules annexed to the proposed Bill for Improvements, give interesting lists of the occupiers affected.



OLD COFFEE HOUSE AND ENTRANCE TO ST. ANN'S SQUARE, 1775

Ogden gives this description of the buildings which were removed to make Exchange Street. This was so named because it led to the Old Exchange, standing at that time, on the opposite side, in the Market Place.

Before the present avenue was opened between St Ann's Church and Square to the Exchange, the communications went under the Old Coffee-house fronting the Exchange; that for carriages, through a narrow gateway, which was further disgraced by a cobbler's stall, and over this, by narrow stairs, in the true garret style, there was one way to the Old Coffee-house rooms, those below being let for shops. There was just room for passengers on foot to avoid carriages on that side to the stairs, by keeping in line with them, and bolting through the gateway as there was opportunity. On the other hand there was a temporary retreat into that opening of the flag path before the Dog Inn, then secured by a wall, or in the corner by the Goose Inn door, opposite the Exchange Coffee-house: but the difficulty of passing that corner was great in a line of carriages, as an old building projected against it on the opposite side, and made it difficult to gain the direct opening this way to St Ann's Square.

The other communication from the Market Place for people on foot, was through an entry which led to the great stairs of the Old Coffee-house, and across a small court, where a pump stood at the head of the only passage this way; which was so gloomy and dismal even at noon day, that it deservedly acquired the denomination of Dark Entry. Both this passage, and that from the Exchange, were intolerably dirty at some seasons of the year. At its exit towards the square, an old building made a sharp angle with it, as incommodious as the pump at the other end. When the corner was cleared and some traverses made past irregular buildings, this communication entered St Ann's Square opposite the flags on the west side.

All the buildings up to Hardman's shop were taken away to make Exchange Street and widen the Market Place on the south side, St. Mary's Gate, being only of sufficient breadth for the passage of a single carriage, was widened by the removal of eleven shops or dwelling houses on the north side. At the other end of the Market Place, Old Millgate was widened on the east side by the removal of nine buildings and one at the end in Hanging Ditch. From the south side of Cateaton Street, seven shops and houses were removed and, probably at this time, the lower end of the Hanging Ditch was filled up and Hanging Bridge buried and forgotten. The work of widening the approach to the Old Bridge was continued by the removal of two shops and houses between the ends of Smithy Door and Deansgate on the south side, and of seven on the north side of Smithy Door. The bridge itself was widened by taking down the Dungeon and extending the piers and arches on the north side. As thus improved, the bridge must have presented a very curious appearance. On the south side it was bounded by the ancient wall with its recesses; while, on the north was a modern wall. Nevertheless, it served the purpose for which it was intended and, for nearly sixty years, it remained unaltered.

The Act provided that owners refusing to treat or sell should be bound by the verdict of a jury but that the Commissioners requiring a part of land or premises should be required to purchase the whole, though they might sell any surplus land, using the money obtained for the purpose of the Act. Any person refusing to quit could be turned out by the Sheriff. Foot causeways were to be made and laid with flags, but no steps or cellar holes were permitted. The streets when made and improved were to become public highways and the whole scheme





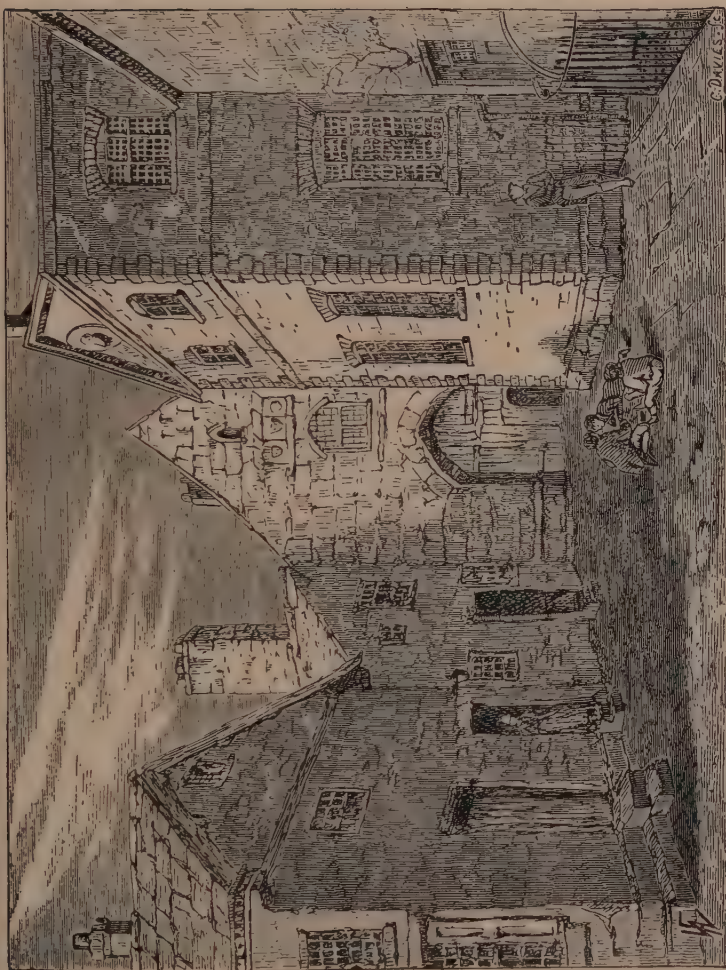
SMITHY DOOR

was to be completed within seven years. Any person subscribing £20 was eligible to be a Commissioner for these improvements; but the Commissioners were unpaid and bore their own expenses.

In 1775 also, the first Theatre Royal was opened at the corner of Spring Gardens and York Street. Water had by this time ceased to flow to the Conduit and it is reported that the spring, which gave its name to Spring Gardens and Fountain Street, was discovered under the stage in later years.

The Manchester Grammar School was rebuilt as a two-storey building in 1776. Joined to the side wall was the house of Joshua Brookes and readers of *The Manchester Man* will recall how the scholars, jumping on the floor close to the wall, caused things in his house to fall. Samuel Bamford gives this description :





## SECOND GRAMMAR SCHOOL

On the right, the Second Manchester Grammar School with the door of Joshua Brooke's house in the corner. In the centre, the gateway of Chetham's Hospital with dwelling-houses adjoining on the left

The School was a large room of an oblong form extending north and south and well lighted by large windows. At the north end of it was a fireplace with a red cheerful fire glowing in the grate. The master's custom was to sit in an arm chair with his right hand towards the fire and left arm, resting on a square oaken table, on which lay a newspaper or two, a magazine or other publication, and a couple of canes with the ends split.

Thomas de Quincey gives this account of the upper school :

The schoolroom, though of ample proportions, was dreary and the external walls, which might have been easily and at little expense adorned with scenes from classic history, were quite bare. . . . One characteristic feature of the school was the entire absence of all forms of corporal punishment. . . . The lack of a playground may have been in some respects an advantage, since it kept us exclusive and added to our sense of dignity. . . . I was presented to my school fellows from whom I received the kindest welcome, a welcome that impressed me the more in that, though they had not the advantage of birth which Etonians have, yet they were superior to them in self restraint and self respect, however deficient they may have been in other qualities. A larger experience has since led me to the conclusion that the natives of Lancashire are pre-eminent in many high qualities.

An American Loyalist, Samuel Curwen, who visited the town in 1777, writes :

The Centre of the town of Manchester consisted principally of old buildings, its streets narrow, irregularly built, with many capital houses interspaced. By Act of Parliament, old buildings are taken down to enlarge the streets. It has a few good ones; King Street is the best built; is long and sufficiently wide; most of its houses noble. Great additions of buildings and streets are daily making. . . . The disposition and manners of this people, as given by themselves, are inhospitable and boorish. I have seen nothing to contradict this assertion, though my slender acquaintance will not justify me in giving that character. In all the manufacturing towns there is a jealousy and suspicion of strangers; an acquaintance with one manufacturer effectually debar one from connection with a second in the same business. It is with difficulty one is admitted to see their works, and in many cases it is impracticable, express prohibitions being given by the masters. The dissenters are some of the most wealthy merchants and manufacturers here, but mostly abhorred by the Jacobites. The dress of the people here savours not much of the London mode in general; the people are remarkable for coarseness of feature, and the language is unintelligible. . . . The ladies, who if they take a part, are ever violent and scruple not, openly and without restraint, to drink Prince Charlie's health, and express their wishes for his restoration.

In Fountain Street, a Concert Room was erected in 1777. Its meetings, well supported by amateur musicians, were generally frequented by a crowded audience.

On Sunday, September 14, 1777, the town suffered a severe earthquake shock, which may account for the fracture still visible in the structure of the Hanging Bridge. The alarm caused by this event is shown by the following contemporary letter.

We are at this moment, perhaps in the most terrible consternation that was ever remembered. About eleven o'clock this forenoon a shock of an earthquake was felt here; it lasted 12 or 15 seconds, and was attended with the most dreadful noises that the mind of man can imagine. The people assembled in the churches to hear divine service were put into the utmost terror; the steeples shook, and the walls trembled to the foundations. The alarm was so great, and the congregations hurried out in such confusion, that many persons have had their limbs broken, and others very much bruised. I cannot paint the scene with half its horrors. The outcry of the women, the tremour of the men, and the discomfort even of the strongest were at once seen. All the inhabitants, both from the churches and private houses, were presently assembled in the streets and the various feelings of the multitude displayed such various pictures to the eye as may be better conceived than described.

On the outbreak of the American War, the popular feeling in Manchester had been strongly against "the rebels". After the war had dragged on for two years, a meeting of the principal inhabitants adopted an address to the King, declaring themselves ready to support him with their lives and fortunes. £8,075 was quickly subscribed and a regiment of volunteers, 1,082 in number, was raised to serve against the Americans. Although failing to reach America, as the 72nd Regiment, it distinguished itself at Gibraltar. Those who would learn of its conduct and deeds in detail may read with pleasure the narrative in Drinkwater's story of the siege. On its return home, the regiment was received in Manchester with great enthusiasm. Being disbanded on September 9, each man received 5s. together with his pay and arrears, while the Regimental Colours were deposited with great ceremony in the parish church subsequently being removed to Chetham's Library.

St. Fond, a Frenchman and Count Andreani of Milan came with letters of introduction to Dr. Percival (whom they did not see) and Dr. William Henry. Although they were most anxious



to see the interior of a cotton mill, they sought in vain to penetrate the mysteries of cotton manufacture. They were more courteously treated at the warehouses and discussed some of the chemical processes used in dyeing. St. Fond was very pleased with the courtesy of Dr. Henry and the Manchester men to whom he was introduced, but the conduct of mine host of the Bull's Head much disgusted him. "For two sorry dinners he charged no less than 17s. apiece, to which we had to add 3s. to his servants, and this was exclusive of the bill for our domestics."

Fears for the diminution of their employment led to riots against spinning machinery in 1779, but, in spite of this, Compton's mule, worked by hand power, was set up in every available room and even in garrets and out-buildings. Wages now earned by the spinners were considerable and soon there was a rush of population to the town. But the houses were old, mostly composed of small unhealthy rooms which were turned into lodgings to accommodate the influx of new workers, and great over-crowding resulted. Single rooms were used for sleeping, eating, and working. Many of the houses were situated in dark narrow courts or blind alleys. Even dark and damp cellars were used as dwellings. It is well to realize that many of these conditions antedated the coming of the factories.

Pamphlets were circulated in 1780 to show the workers that the machines, which many threatened to destroy, were really a benefit to them. In one of these, the kindly Thomas Barnes made an eloquent plea on their behalf.

"The poor, by whom I mean the working part of the people are the strength and riches of every state. . . . The poor here are considered as part, and ought to be considered the principal part of the nation. It is plain they are the most numerous part. What would become of the rich, if there were no poor people to till their ground, and pay their rents? And what would the tradesman do without workmen to manufacture his goods? The interest of the poor, therefore, must, with every considerate man, be the object of his regards."

He regretted that protracted working hours prevented them from acquiring a liberal education. In a paper that he read to the Literary and Philosophical Society on January 9, 1782, he advocated the formation of an institution devoted principally to chemistry and mechanics. To this should be attached a museum with models of all the machines in textile manufacture,



together with a record of the ingredients used in dyeing, printing etc. Unfortunately, Dr. Barnes was far in advance of his time.

The present day concern about smoke abatement is anticipated by the formation of an Association, which issued the following manifesto in February 1781 :

Whereas a most offensive, alarming and dangerous practice has for some time prevailed in and about the town among the Lower Class of people, (particularly in and about High Street), of voluntarily setting fire to Chimneys full of soot to Save the small Expense of Sweeping. Many such notorious and atrocious offenders have hitherto escaped from punishment by pleading their poverty and promising to do so no more, but not withstanding the excess of Lenity and ill Judged forgiveness that has so often taken place the Infamous an Enormous practice of burning foul Chimneys becomes more and more Common. . . . Wherefore this is to inform the public that an Association is now setting on foot by which every Transgression of this Heinous nature will be brought to a legal trial and the delinquent punish'd according to the utmost severity of the law :

N.B. Every Informant against any Person offending as above, or of suffering a Chimney to take fire by their negligence shall Receive half a Guinea Reward upon this Fact being Prov'd the money to be paid out of the Stock purse of this association.

In a town of increasing density and size, largely constructed of wood, the fear of fire was constantly before the authorities.

The first of the long line of foreign merchants, Bickerdike Gidem & Co., a Dutch firm, commenced business at 13 Spring Gardens. In the next year a French firm, A. G. & H. Savloin opened their premises in Back George Street.

By 1781 the congested state of the Market Place and the increasing number of butchers' stalls led to the opening of a new market. Dilapidated cottages in Pool Court and Hyde Park were cleared away; drains were laid; the area flagged; and a Market Hall provided with 144 open stalls erected thereon. This was an infringement of the rights of the Lord of the Manor, who at Lancaster Assizes, brought an action against the proprietors in 1782 and obtained a verdict in his favour. The dispute was settled by the sale of the building and stalls to the Lord of the Manor and the market continued until 1803, when it was removed to Bridge Street. The name New Market Lane, off Pall Mall, remains to remind us of this venture.

Dr. Thomas Percival, being a scholar of remarkable attainments, attracted to his house in King Street the scientific men

of the town. At first these occasional meetings were confined to friends. But the circle increased so rapidly and the value of the papers read ranked so high that on February 28, 1781, the Literary and Philosophical Society was formed. For twenty-three years, until a permanent home was built, its meetings were held in taverns.

It is difficult for us to realise that, at this time there were practically no schools for the children of working people but that both employers and parents considered that children were much better off at work. Sunday schools were started in order to teach children to read and write. The first room in Manchester expressly for Sunday School purposes was that built by a Mr. Fildes behind his dwelling house off London Road. Previous to this he had opened a Sunday School in a cellar and a second in a garrett.

On June 24, 1782, fresh members were elected as the Committee for the Protection and Encouragement of Trade. At the end of the year they issued a statement showing the benefits resulting from such an institution. Importation of cotton wool from the West Indies was facilitated and increased; Acts of Parliament, for preventing the destruction of woollen and silk goods in the loom etc., and punishment of buyers and receivers of stolen goods, had been procured. Apprenticeship for seven years for weavers had been enforced. Correspondence with other trading parts of the kingdom and with county members secured earlier information concerning everything of commercial interest that came before Parliament. The report concluded with details of the opposition to Arkwright's patents and a list of receipts, payments, and subscribers.

Most of the commercial business of the town was transacted in taverns about the Market Place where the merchants and manufacturers loved to congregate. At these places, the latter doled out the raw material to the weavers to receive it back in woven cloth; and there was the rendezvous of the pack horse men, who came or went to sell their goods as best they might. Manufactures who wanted cotton went to Liverpool one day, supplied themselves the next and returned home on the third. In 1782 there was a panic in consequence of the quantity of cotton imported, which, between December and April, had amounted to 7,012 bags.

## 24. *The First Cotton Mill*

1783-1791

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**I**N 1783 the first complete description of the town "By a Native" was published and it is generally agreed that the author was James Ogden. The scope of this ninety-four page pamphlet may, perhaps, be best indicated by giving its title page in full.

A Description of Manchester, giving an Historical Account of those Limits in which the Town was formerly included, some Observation upon its public Edifices, present Extent and late Alterations with a Succinct History of its former original Manufactories and their gradual Advancement to the Present State of Perfection at which they are arrived.

The pamphlet was reprinted in 1887, with an introduction by W. E. A. Axon. During his interesting perambulation, "A Native" shows the town, that with a sleepy prosperity had been growing, now beginning to overflow its ancient boundaries. It is fortunate that, just when the new industrial order was commencing, there should be so full and complete an account of the old order that was passing away. Ogden drew attention to the new factor in industrial relations: the presence of free labour, which gave rise to the large wage-earning middle class. He says:

Nothing has more contributed to the improvements in trade here, than the free admission of workmen in every branch whereby the trade has been kept open to strangers of every description who contribute to its improvement by their ingenuity, for Manchester being only a market town, governed by Constables, is not subject to such regulations as are made in corporations to favour freemen in exclusion of strangers; and indeed nothing could be more fatal to its trading interest, if it should be incorporated, and have representatives in Parliament.

This last phrase explains why there was so little local interest in the subject mentioned until nearly 50 years later.

For such is the course of popular contests, that in places where the immediate dependence of the inhabitants is not upon trade, the health and morals of the people are ruined upon these occasions. How much more fatal would the effects be in such a town as this.

On the right hand side of Millers Lane, Ogden records: "Mr. Arkwright's machines are setting to work by a steam engine, for carding and spinning of cotton." The erection of the mill chimney attracted crowds daily, its height being a source of wonder and not without misgiving. It became the precursor of a forest of chimney stacks extending for many miles. "The mill was turned by water-power, the water being obtained from Shudehill pits, while the engine was used to pump this water to a higher level" (Slugg). In 1785, Manchester's first cotton mill was insured by the Royal Exchange Assurance Co. for £5,000; premium £7. 13s. 6d. The Company now holds the original policy.

Ogden's statement that Arkwright's mill was opposite the Alms Houses in Miller Street, is confirmed by Laurent's and Green's maps on which it is marked "Simpson's mill." According to Unwin, John Simpson was manager for Arkwright. In the Directory of 1792, Simpson is entered as the owner of this factory which remained in his family until it was badly damaged by fire. The *Manchester Guardian* dated May 3, 1854, gives a vivid account of this disaster, as does the *Examiner* and *Times* of this date.

The "Old Factory," as it was called, was the first large mill erected in Manchester, having been built in the year 1780 by Sir Richard Arkwright and was for many years occupied by him as a cotton mill. The mill, it should be stated, was a very extensive one being five storeys high, upwards of 200 feet long, and 30 feet wide. In the centre of the mill, on the outside, was a wooden staircase affording communication with each storey. The rooms were not partitioned off, but extended the whole length of the building. Of late years it had been occupied for miscellaneous purposes, principally as cotton waste warehouses, its width not being sufficient for the modern machinery of a cotton mill. The building belonged to Mr. Richard Simpson. It was not insured. His loss was about £5000.

Bruton's illustration of Manchester's First Cotton Mill outlines the restored four storeys by a white line, on a background



of the enlarged structure. Otherwise, it is misleading because it does not distinguish between Sir Richard's mill and the much later Arkwright Mills Company Limited. This was formed by George Woodhead; first appears in the Directory for 1910; and continued there until 1922 when the firm moved to Dantzig Street, where it still remains.

A note from Baxendales, who bought the building in September 1919, says: "the structure was massive brickwork, with very heavy wooden floors supported by corbels in the walls." A direct hit completely destroyed the building in the blitz of 1940.

At this time, the only means whereby vehicular traffic could pass between the two towns was by the Old Bridge, now Victoria Bridge. As the population increased the traffic also increased and, early in 1783, a company was formed and shares of £40 issued. By this means funds were raised and the New Bailey Bridge built at the end of what was then Dolefield, but later became Bridge Street. Tolls were levied and the venture so well repaid the promoters that they regained their capital and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest per annum during the eighteen years of its existence. This bridge had two arches with a breadth of thirty-six feet, of which six feet on each side was a flagged footpath. With a portion of the tolls, the proprietors purchased many of the old buildings at the Deansgate end and the street was widened until it became one of the best in the town. By this bridge the road to Warrington and Bolton was considerably shortened. New Bailey bridge was opened in 1785 and continued in use until replaced by the single-span Albert Bridge.

An early local effort to furnish intellectual and technical advancement was the foundation, on July 6, 1783, of a College of Arts and Sciences. The announcement set forth:

That this Institution is intended to provide a course of liberal instruction, compatible with the engagement of commercial life, favourable to all its higher interests. . . . To unite Philosophy with Arts, the moral and intellectual culture of the mind with the pursuits of fortune, and to superadd the noblest powers of enjoyment to the acquisition of wealth.

Further, "this Institution disclaims all relation to parties, either in Religion or Politics."

By this time a few Manchester people had begun to go to

Blackpool for health reasons and the following advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Mercury* for June 3rd, 1783.

“Manchester and Blackpool Coach from Upper Royal Oak, Market Street Lane, Manchester, begins to run Monday 9th June and every morning (Sunday excepted) at 6.0 a.m., through Bolton, Chorley, Preston, etc. Performed by Math: Pickford, Pointon.”

Manchester took the lead in the opposition to the increased Fustian Tax. This material, with a linen warp and cotton weft, already bore a duty of 3*d.* a yard. As a step to repair the finances injured by the American War, the Younger Pitt added an additional 1*d.* a yard, if under 3*s.* in value and 2*d.* if above, not only on printed but also on bleached goods, and compelled the bleachers, printers, and dyers to take out licences, each costing £2 yearly. Petitions to the House of Commons and memorials to the Lords of the Treasury were sent up, representing that these new duties would crush the rising manufacture. So oppressive had the new tax become that, on April 12, 1785, many thousands of unemployed operatives marched to Manchester, making there a demonstration of the distressful state of their industry. Meanwhile, Thomas Walker and Thomas Richardson, aided by the powerful influence of the Duke of Bridgewater, waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also Prime Minister. So forcible were the representations, that Pitt reluctantly consented to bring in a short bill in the next year, repealing all the new duties imposed. The repeal was celebrated by one of the most joyous and splendid processions ever seen. Upwards of 2,000 are said to have taken part, and the spectators were judged to be over 100,000. Dinners were provided at the hotel and taverns; presentations being made to the local leaders.

Charles F. Brandt, who was destined to become one of the leading townsmen, commenced the first German business house at 22 Bond Street, (now Princess Street) and took up his residence in Lever's Row, (now Piccadilly); so that now there were three foreign merchants trading in the town.

On August 10, 1784, the Boroughreeve and Constables issued an address to the public recommending Sunday Schools, and a subscription list was opened. A meeting was held in the Bull's Head on September 24 and a Committee, consisting of Church-

men, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics, was formed. Not until 1800 did sectarian dispute cause a rupture.

Many different dates are given for the origin of Sunday Schools in Manchester, but this is the period when the organization and management was extended and improved by the increased support of the wealthy and benevolent inhabitants. Eighteen rules, from which the following details are taken, were drawn up for their management. No child was to be admitted under six years of age nor without a recommendation from a subscriber. From October 1 to March 1, children were to attend from 9 till 12 and 1 till 4 p.m; the rest of the year from 2 till 5 o'clock. They were to be taught reading, writing, and the principles of Christianity. Rooms were hired and head teachers were paid 2s.; under teachers 1s. 6d. No teacher was to have more than forty pupils. Rent for rooms and cost of coals and candles, as well as payment of the teachers were borne by the Committee.

*W. Hawarth's House in Millgate*



Facing the side entrance to Victoria Station stands the Manchester Arms Hotel, one of the few surviving old houses in Long Millgate. This was formerly the home of the Hawarth family and is reproduced on Casson & Berry's Map, 1746. By the side

of the house is a narrow passage still known as Hawarth Gate. Originally this was the way to the back part of the house, (now in Corporation Street), the orchard and large field that lay behind it. In 1785 James Sadler, the first English aeronaut, exhibited his balloon at the Exchange and on May 12 tested its merits from Haworth's field, by ascending with only a cat in the car. So great was the interest aroused by this first balloon ascent from Manchester that the charges made for admission to the field were 5s. and 10s. 6d. From this event originates the name Balloon Street and the name of the C.W.S. buildings.

Thomas Newte of Devon who visited Manchester on June 1, 1785, published this impression of the town:

The manufacturers of Manchester live like men of fortune which indeed they are. The greatest part of the people are engaged in some useful art, but principally in finishing the goods that are manufactured in the neighbourhood. The mills prepare the cotton for the weavers, and Manchester completes the work. From hence the goods are carried to every part of the world; the conveyance of these being greatly facilitated by the communication which the canals afford with the sea, on either side of the island. Manchester is the best regulated town in England, though, like Birmingham, it is not governed by magistrates of its own, or a town council, but by the gentlemen of the town, who are at great pains, to establish order and good manners among the lower people by good regulations. The people, again, being mostly weavers and consequently orderly and domestic, are very tractable, and susceptible of good government.

The spirit of enterprise is extended in Manchester from manufactures and commerce to mechanical invention, and thence to philosophy in general. They have in that exemplary community a philosophical society, who pursue literature and science with all the ardour that is natural to new establishments; and also a music room and regular concerts, ornaments of which no other manufacturing town in England can boast. When the manufactures of this country were in danger of suffering by the Irish Propositions, the town of Manchester took the lead in opposing them, and contributed twice as much as all the kingdom besides to the support of the manufacturers who espoused their cause.

It is remarkable that in this elegant and well regulated town the inns are the most inconvenient, incommodious, and in all respects the worst that can be well imagined. The hotel is indeed better, though by no means very good; nor will it at all serve the purpose of travellers who stop on their journey only for a short time. The women of Manchester, and indeed of all Lancashire, are esteemed handsome; and in this respect the title of witches may be bestowed on them without great impropriety.



In the same year a great revolution was brought about in the dispatch of the letters by the introduction of Palmer's plan of carrying the same not, as formerly by post-horse but by mail-coaches. The change was advertised in the *Mercury* on July 15, 1785. The draft of this announcement is in Manchester Miscellaneous Papers and a transcript is printed in L. & C. A. S 22/29.

Extension of Manchester manufactures increased the trades connected therewith. Paper was needed for parcelling, for bills and correspondence, and for locally issued bank notes. Iron foundries were needed to cast wheels and cylinders for cotton machines, as well as boilers and pipes for steam engines. Iron-mongers, with smithies attached, made accessories of all sorts down to nails. Tin plate workers found their usefulness extended, while braziers cast wheels for the rollers of spinning machines. Harness makers turned to making belts for the new machines and the labour force was greatly increased for the building of mills and warehouses. The early manufacturers of the town realized great profits, which are satirically alluded to in a burlesque pamphlet, published about this time, entitled "The Adventures of a Sixpence; Shewing the method of setting up tradesmen without money."

Another danger to the cotton trade arose from what are known as the Irish Propositions, 1785, which were strenuously resisted by Manchester. To allay the discontent in Ireland, Pitt, with the concurrence of the Irish Parliament, proposed this plan of commercial relief: 1. To permit the importation of the produce of the West Indian and American colonies through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish free trade between Great Britain and Ireland of their respective productions and manufactures. In return, Ireland was to contribute a yearly sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general expenses of the Empire. In the end the concession was nullified by the many restrictions imposed by the House of Commons.

The Protectionist spirit, largely strengthened by the anti-Irish campaign, brought together many industrialists of different trades to found the General Chamber of Manufacturers in 1785. It was the first of its kind and the forerunner of the business associations of to-day, though of course its functions differed in many ways.



*John Dalton, F.R.S.*

JOHN DALTON

Several prominent Manchester men had been educated at the Warrington Academy, founded in 1757. When that institution closed in 1786, it was resolved that Manchester New College, to promote a high standard in Civil and Commercial education, should be established. Substantial buildings were erected on the west side of Mosley Street, between Bond Street, (now Princess Street), and St Peter's Square. The edifice, recessed, bearing on the front wall the inscription, "College Buildings", was enclosed by iron palisades. The first session of the New College was opened on September 14, 1786. It was financially strengthened by the gift of the library and one half of the proceeds of the sale and of the assets of the Warrington Academy. To Manchester New College, at the age of twenty-seven, came John Dalton as a new science in his pocket and the publication of his *Meteorological Essays*, in 1793, marks an epoch in meteorology. One of the early student was a young Frenchman named Mortier. He is identified in Harland's *Collectanea* II, as Edward Mortier, who rose to be a Marshal of France under Napoleon. But more probably, he was Hector, a younger brother of the Marshal. After removal to York; then back to Manchester; the College was transferred to London. In 1893 it was removed to Oxford and, on October 18th, formally opened as Manchester College in that city.

On May 26, 1788, Heywood's Bank was opened in Exchange Street. Scarcely had they commenced operations when the old firm of Byrom & Co., now represented by William Allen, failed. He was not alone, for Harrop says on July 22, "the number of bankruptcies within these last six months has amounted to no fewer than 360." Heywoods bought the premises at the corner of Old Bank Street where they remained for several years.

An enumeration of the Township gave the number of houses as 5916; families 8,570; persons 42,821 an increase of 2,514 houses and 19,340 persons in fifteen years. Aikin says the new street had nearly doubled the size of the town.

Another important event of the year was the commencement of a post coach to London, which left at 4 a.m. and was supposed to arrive early next evening. Luggage was restricted to 14 lb., each, any excess being charged at 2d. per lb.

William Roberts, Steward of the Court Leet, in his Charge to the Jury, gives an account of the origin of that body and continues, "a town increasing as this is in Opulence, in Populous-

ness, and in Importance, requires the exertion of every nerve it possesses, to combat against the prevalence and contagion of Licentiousness, Irregularity and Disorder." Owing to the trouble, the expense, and the anxiety of prosecution in the Courts of Session, many offences escape punishment. He reminds them that the proceedings of the Court Leet are very summary; although only capable of inflicting a fine; and enumerates the offences needing presentment; of which the chief are obstructing the streets, open cellar holes and encroachment on the streets.

In a Directory of Manchester and Salford, compiled by Edward Holme and published this year, we have for the first time, "Alphabetical lists of the squares, streets, lanes and courts", numbering altogether 260; being an increase in seven years, (1781-88), of 63 as compared with an increase of twenty-three in the preceding eight years, (1773-81). The number of directory names had increased from 1,530 in 1773 to 2,580 in 1788, i.e., within 500 of being doubled in fifteen years. Two elegant passage boats, between Manchester and Runcorn, performed the voyage in  $8\frac{1}{2}$  hours. "N.B. Tea and cakes elegantly served for breakfast, and in the afternoon, in each boat." Twenty vessels plied between Manchester and Liverpool on the Old Navigation. Then follows a list of the town's officials.

Charles Dibden, the author of *Tom Bowling*, *The Jolly Young Waterman* and many another fine ballad, gave three entertainments in the Great Room at the Bull's Head in January 1788. His "Musical Tour" records:—"Manchester is a charming town and I have seen nothing superior to Mosley Street but Portland Square . . . the entrance into the town from Stockport is very magnificent." He condemns the narrowness in outlook of the merchants and the plodding routine of the clerks but adds:

Men, however, of these contracted principles are strictly honest, and possess the lesser virtues with as much punctuality and exactness as they honour a bill of exchange; and there can be no doubt but, from the timidity attendant on the common moral duties of life, and an anxiety to comply as far as men can with the letter of that religion they punctually attend the ceremonies of . . . by way of example to their children and servants . . . the humanity so manifest in their present efforts to abolish the slave trade had its rise. . . . The objections which originate at Manchester, have since extended to a large part of the kingdom.



On November 5, 1788, the Manchester Whigs celebrated the centenary of the landing of William of Orange by a sumptuous banquet. The ringing of bells and a military salute, fired in St. Ann's Square, roused the enthusiasm of the populace. Men wore orange cockades and ladies displayed orange-coloured ribbons. A procession, headed by the regimental band, went to the Bull's Head Hotel where the banquet was held. During the whole of December 1788, party feeling ran very high.

Early in 1789 some leading townsmen proposed to draw up an address to the Prime Minister on his success over the Regency Bill. This was opposed by the Anti-Pittites. 507 signatories to a broadside declared that "Mr. Pitt has no claim to the thanks of the inhabitants of Manchester or the neighbourhood; and that such an address is, at this time, peculiarly unnecessary and improper," especially as "it remains unsanctioned by the voice of a public meeting called expressly for the purpose". Happily George III recovered his sanity and the controversy died down. Unfortunately a copy of the address to the Younger Pitt, with its signatories, does not appear to have survived, but a letter from that statesman, expressing his thanks, is in Manchester Miscellaneous Papers.

Anna Walker has this entry in her Diary:— "1789. Mar: 30th. The road till near the approach to Manchester was pretty, a number of new built Houses rearing their Heads in Testimony to the opulence of the Manchester people, these being their country residences. The smoke and dirt on the approach to Manchester was Abominable, and gave me little hopes of being pleased with it. We got to Lever's Row, opposite the Infirmary, to dinner, where our lodgings are small and Indifferent, but the best Manchester affords. Manchester is a Dull, Smoky, Dirty Town in a Flat, from whence the Black Soot rises in clouds to Overspread the surrounding Country. —11th April. Was much alarmed in the morning by hearing of a Riot, but which afterwards did not prove so, but a business of a worse nature. It seems Clubs have been formed here for a long time under the cloak of Freemasonry; the members have been putting the use of Arms in the Manufactories, in order to join the French in case of invasion, corresponding with them &c. Government, informed of their proceedings, have waited an opportunity, and now finding enough to Justify the proceedings, have seized 7 or 9 of the Ringleaders, who this morning were marched off under a strong Guard."

One of the earliest pioneers of improvement in the working conditions of cotton operatives was Peter Drinkwater, whose four-storeyed mill at Bank Top, is marked on Green's map. It was just off London Road, between Auburn Street and Upton Street. The site is now part of Aytoun Street. Robert Owen became manager and is said to have made the first purchase of Sea Island cotton two years later. This factory was the first cotton mill to be powered by a rotary steam engine. The contract of April 1, 1789, shows that this was of eight horse-power, with a 16 inch cylinder and a piston with a 4 foot stroke. Drinkwater's concern for sanitary conditions and lavatory accommodation may have influenced Owen's later plans at New Lanark.

Another benefit secured to the town by the energy of Dr. Charles White was the foundation of the lying-in hospital in a house near the Salford end of the Old Bridge, on the site now Woolley's, the wholesale chemists. Five years later it was moved to the Bath Inn, Stanley Street, Salford, on the site of the old "Spaw" house. Fifty years after its foundation, the hospital was moved to Manchester and, four years later again, it first received the name St. Mary's. Two years later again, on October 10, St. Mary's Hospital in Quay Street was opened.

From November 1789, to January 1790, the capacity of the Infirmary staff had been strained by an epidemic fever, and the belief gained credence among the cotton workers that these periodic fevers came in the cotton. But Dr. Ferriar pointed out that these epidemics had their origin in the mean houses of the town, being mostly old buildings composed of small unhealthy rooms. When turned into lodgings to accommodate the working people, they were greatly overcrowded. Dr. Ferriar urged that the cellars should be closed by authority, and that the houses should be regularly visited and cleansed. Other means which he suggested for preventing the spread of infectious fevers were a more general attention to the laws of health, the establishment of baths and the shortening of the protracted hours of the labour of children, who ought to be properly fed before going to work.

The shock of the French Revolution and destruction of the Gallican Church led to reform being confounded with revolution. It was unfortunate that the question of the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was before Parliament at this time.



INFIRMARY, LUNATIC ASYLUM AND PUBLIC BATHS, 1789

Rejection of the petition in favour of their repeal, in March 1790, led to a violent outbreak of party feeling in Manchester. A "Church and King Club", whose members wore a representation of the Old Church on their buttons, was counterpoised by the "Constitutional Society", led by Thomas Walker. As neither of the newspapers in the town would publish the communications of the Society, it persuaded Faulkner and Birch to publish *The Manchester Herald*, in 1792.

The Post Office stood at the corner of Toll Lane and St. Ann's Square. Although Manchester paid £11,000 in postages, a larger amount than any other provincial town, the whole work was performed by a postmistress and two clerks.

Barlow's *General History of Europe* gives the following entry under Manchester:

Though but a village and governed by a constable or headborough, it is one of the most flourishing places in the kingdom, large, opulent, well built. . . . The fustian manufactures, called Manchester cottons and velvets, together with the manufacture of checks, ticking etc., which the inhabitants have carried on with remarkable spirit, ingenuity, and success, have rendered it a place of extraordinary wealth, and many individuals are remarkably opulent. There are not so many people of middling fortunes here as at Birmingham, but there are more persons who have great fortunes; a circumstance which is to be accounted for from the nature of the Manchester manufactures, which cannot so well be carried on as those of Birmingham, by tradesmen of small capitals. The manufacturers of Manchester live like men of fortune, which indeed they are, though there have lately been a great many capital failures in that place. The women of Manchester and indeed of all Lancashire are esteemed handsome. Manchester is the best regulated town in England, though like Birmingham, it is not governed by magistrates of its own, but by the gentlemen of the town, who are at great pains to establish order and good manners among the lower people by proper regulations.

At Knott Mill, in 1790, Robert Grimshaw of Gorton House, Gorton, started a weaving factory with thirty looms (Arkwright's patent) worked by steam. He received many threats that his looms would be destroyed and, a few weeks after the mill was started, it was burned to the ground. As a result, power-looms were not reintroduced to Manchester until 1806.

Manchester poor relief was governed for many years by the Act of 1790. The poorhouse in Cumberland Street being too



small, the Churchwardens and Overseers were empowered to purchase land, to the extent of ten acres, and to erect and furnish a Poorhouse, which had to be exempt from parochial and Parliamentary taxes. This new building, in Strangeways, situated without the boundaries of the township, was to be regarded as within it. The site is now beneath Victoria Station. The poor might be punished for misconduct by confinement, hard labour, or abatement of diet. They might be employed in any work, trades, manufacture and employments whatsoever. The proceeds of their labour was to go in aid of the poor rate after such reward as the Churchwardens might direct. Wandering children could be committed to the poorhouse and later apprenticed by order of the Justices. Outdoor relief might be given to industrious poor persons, while idle and disorderly ones, neglecting their families, might be prosecuted.

How misled casual visitors can be is well illustrated by the contrasting impressions of Lord Torrington in 1790, who interrupts his narrative by a scathing attack on trade, which he asserts leads to war and taxes; whereas a contributor to the *European Magazine* in the next year ends with a eulogy of commerce.

Torrington says:

At last I came to the great noisy hotel, the Bridgewater Arms, whose clamor, bell ringing, and want of attendance would drive a man wild. . . . After breakfast I wandered about this great nasty manufacturing town. . . . Who but a merchant could live in such a hole where the slave working and drinking a short life out; is eternally reeling before you from fatigue or drunkenness. . . . I saw many soldiers about the town, and some officers in our coffee room, who from their dress and address, I thought might belong to the militia, and I could scarcely credit the assertion of their being a regiment of dragoon guards. My wander was shortened by a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain which drove me back in haste. My second round, (after the storm ceased), was of the new town, hourly increasing in buildings, and of better sort; opposite to Lever Row is the grand new infirmary, and in Mosley Street now finishing are chapels for prayer, and assembly rooms for dancing well built, and bespeaking opulence and an increasing trade.

Contrast, with this the article in the *European Magazine* of 1791:

Manchester is a well built town, doubled in its size the last 30 years, more than doubled in the number of its inhabitants, and

enriched by the cotton manufactory beyond the power of calculation. . . . To enumerate the cotton fabrics under the denomination of Velvets, Fustians, Checks, Printed Cottons and Muslins would be to count the sands of the sea; and though so much of the business is performed by machinery, there is still business enough for all ages and numbers, from four years old to four score. . . . great part of the old town pulled down to make room for spacious ornamental mansions . . . these are thy blessings O Commerce.

Until the district was flooded by an inrush of labour from Ireland, wages were proportionately good. A weaver would sometimes earn £3 a week. Cottages could often be rented for not more than £2 10s. a year, and the home workers enjoyed amenities of life denied to the next generation.

W. M. Craig, the artist, lived in Manchester until about 1791. One of his drawings, "Manchester from Mount Pleasant," then a rural spot in Cheetwood in full accord with its name, was later engraved by Landseer and sold in London, also at 79, Market Street Lane.

The residence of R. G. Blackmore, cotton merchant, from which this view was taken, stood on the high ground beyond the Assize Courts. This line engraving by J. Landseer, father of Sir E. Landseer, is a work in the finest manner of that art, and in its best state is greatly prized. (Nicholson.)

## 25. *The Police Commissioners I*

1792-1799

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REDFORD'S opinion, that the town had outgrown the government of the Court Leet, fits the facts better than the praise of the Webbs for the Manorial Court. Tumultuous riots at the end of the eighteenth century showed clearly the need for improvement in local government, the normal method of securing which, was by a special Act of Parliament appointing Commissioners. The Act for "Cleansing, Lighting, and Watching" of 1792 established such a body of Commissioners in Manchester, consisting of: 1. The Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church; 2. The Boroughreeve; 3. Any owner or occupier of a dwelling worth £30 or more, willing to serve. This property qualification was high enough to exclude all the industrial wage earners and the small shopkeepers. The Minutes of the Police Commissioners, from 1797 to 1883, except the years 1812 to 1819, are preserved in the Town Hall.

In some respects, their power to construct new sewers and drains, encroached upon the powers of the Court Leet. Thirty of their number were chosen as Directors of the Gasworks. The Police Commissioners were empowered to levy a rate of up to 1s. 6d. in the £ and their Treasurer was to be the principal officer. This Act also provided for street improvements and any person subscribing £10 for street widening was entitled to become an Improvement Commissioner; but few were found willing to undertake the task.

For fifty years from 1792, the township was divided into fourteen districts, and governed by these Police Commissioners. At this time the word "Police" retained its original meaning of "general administration". That the Commissioners remained inert for the first five years was due to local unrest and financial stringency caused by the outbreak of war with France.

Neither the officers of the Court Leet nor those of the Police Commissioners had the powers of Justices of the Peace, and the lack of resident magistrates, able to understand the special problems of the town government, was a source of great danger to the public welfare of Manchester. (Redford).

Rapid growth of the town had brought many new problems. Water was so scarce that there was little to spare even for cleansing purposes. Horse traffic and the arrival of cattle, sheep and pigs, on the hoof to market, increased the need for street scavenging and made difficult the disposal of manure which, formerly, had been absorbed by the surrounding fields and gardens. The greatly increased number of houses made the disposal of human excreta a veritable nightmare, while the general use of coal as fuel created a tonnage problem for the removal of ashes and other household rubbish. Moreover, the rate allowed under the Act was difficult to collect and often in arrears.

Meanwhile, private enterprise continued its beneficent work. One hundred subscribers furnished funds to erect the Assembly Rooms, Mosley Street in 1792, of which Aston gives a description in his *Guide*. The first public Assembly took place in September.

The Lord of the Manor demolished the First Exchange and the land was purchased by the town, to make a more spacious opening in the Market Place. The building was sold to Messrs Upton & Son, on July 9, for £425, and their workmen began taking it down the following Wednesday. On its site the then Boroughreeve erected a monument with a square base and four pillars surmounted by a gilt ball, known as "Nathan Crompton's Folly"; and on it were fixed four of the curious oil lamps that then lighted the town. This monument and the four posts which marked the site of the Exchange became known as "Pennyless Hill", owing to its becoming the resort of ne'er-do-wells and out-works. Darbyshire in his account of the Old Manchester Exhibition of 1887, mistakenly described this "Folly" as the Conduit.

Thomas Cooper, a barrister, and James Watt, son of a great inventor, being in Paris on private business, were deputed by the Manchester Constitutional Society to present an address of congratulation to the "Society of Friends of the Constitution" Because it met in the old convent of that name, this Society





later became known as the Jacobin Club. The address from Manchester was presented on April 13, 1792. In his reply the Vice-President spoke of "consecrating the alliance which we have sworn anew to observe with all the patriots in England in the persons of the deputies from the Society of the far-famed town of Manchester." The address was ordered to be printed and a reply was sent to Manchester, dated April 14, 1792, the fourth year of liberty.

These proceedings attracted the attention of Edmund Burke, causing him to pour forth a volume of invective in the House of Commons on April 30, 1792.

In May of the same year, the Constitutional Society issued a declaration that Members of Parliament should owe their seats to the free suffrage of the people. Within a week of the publication of this very moderate document the Government issued a proclamation against wicked and seditious writings. A meeting of the Tory party on the King's birthday, June 4 led to a riot, with an attack on Cross Street and Mosley Street chapels. Even the publicans were induced to display signs "No Jacobins admitted here", and a disclaimer by 186 of them was issued on September 13. A proclamation by the government on December 1 to prepare the people for the impending French War was followed by a meeting in Manchester on December 11 which led to a riot in the Market Place, when the premises of the publishers of *The Herald* were destroyed and attacks made on Thomas Walker's house, while the authorities supinely looked on. Because Mr. Walker had gathered some friends with fire-arms to defend himself, this led to his trial at Lancaster Assizes on a charge of conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government and to aid and assist the French, but he was acquitted. One of the most pernicious and permanent results of this day's rioting was the consolidation of the forces of reaction into the "Manchester Association for Preserving Liberty, Order and Property," (known as the Loyal Association), formed at this meeting. The Minutes of the Loyal Association are preserved in Chetham's Library.

William Phillipps visited his brother Thomas, in May 1792. Like many another young man migrating to Manchester from the country, Thomas Phillipps had found wealth in the rapidly expanding cotton industry. In the early 70's he had a linen-drapeer's shop in the Market Place. Then he became a calico-

printer in a large way at Ashton-under-Lyne. He was one of the early members of the Literary and Philosophical Society and is described as a man of considerable culture. This Journal of William Phillipps is a pleasant revelation of a countryman's wonder at the new world of industry. The Sugar house, in Water Street, near the Old Quay, is shown on Laurent's map, 1793. Phillipps says: "To the Sugar House, where they make sugar. . . . We saw about 20 or 30 loaves, and the Potts they make them in. This very nasty place, eight storey high." Not a pleasing comment on the care in food preparation, and a great contrast to his note on the New Bailey Prison.

This is a new built place, and very grand. It is too good for some that are brought there; it's more like a nobleman's house and gardens (walled round on the outside) to appearance than a prison. There are several cells with looms in for those that are fustian weavers to work in and some for fustian cutters; there are a hundred and twenty four cells and kept very clean and neat.

Next year, the Act for granting leases in Chorlton Row began the building up of the area now known as Chorlton-on-Medlock. The increasing problem of the poor was dealt with by opening of a new Poor House in Strangeways and the closing of the old one in Cumberland Street, off Deansgate.

In Manchester, as elsewhere, the inhabitants were keenly alive to the horrors which had darkened the French Revolution. Early sympathy with successful resistance to tyranny and the establishment of free institutions were converted into dismay and a dread of revolution at home.

On January 1, 1793, the *Manchester Mercury* printed a declaration from 180 Dissenters declaring their support of the Royal Family and approval of the Constitution of 1688. A few weeks later, 500 Catholics published a more fervent expression of loyalty. These were followed by a more general declaration by the inhabitants as a whole. Enthusiasm was increased when it became known that the King had accepted the Manchester memorial in person and expressed his gratification. The residents of Deansgate hung an effigy of Tom Paine, with "The Rights of Man" stitched on his breast, and then dragged it through the streets while the population shouted and sang "God Save the King". Before Revolutionary France declared war on Britain the editor of the *Manchester Mercury* published an impassioned Leader which declared.



We feel sure you will unite heart and hand to punish this perfidious nation, not less for its inhumanity than for its brutal arrogance in daring to interfere with our domestic concerns and attempting to dictate to you that you shall renounce the government of your choice in favour of their nonsense, their guilt and their absurdity.

Sarah Willatt, the strenuous old postmistress, was relieved of her duties on April 5, 1793 and rewarded with a pension of £120. With the aid of her daughter and a single letter-carrier, she had conducted the whole of the post-office business to the entire satisfaction of the town. Joseph Harrop, who was appointed at a salary of £300 a year, moved the post-office to his premises 40, Market Place. Four clerks, at salaries ranging from £50 to £100 and five additional letter-carriers at 12s. each, were engaged. On April 22, the new postmaster published in the *Mercury*, "Hints to the Inhabitants for the more speedy delivery of letters." In July 1793, Manchester was granted a penny local postal service and four additional receiving offices were opened. The Order authorising this and the penalties provided for the illegal carrying of letters had been published in the *Mercury* on April 15 previous. So largely had the postal business increased that, during the year 1794-95, the Penny Post brought to the revenue in Manchester a clear gain of £586.

At the end of the year 1793, Laurent published his "Plan of Manchester" which, Roeder has shown, was but an incomplete plagiarism of the careful map being then prepared by William Green. Laurent's orientation is done in the old style: ninety names of streets, houses and courts were left out, but these were filled in and other errors corrected after the appearance of Green's map.

A French charlatan, one Charles Laurent who, supported by persons who ought to have known and acted better, anticipated the publication of Green's map, by one that was little better than a sham, smaller, unauthentic and untrustworthy, yet sufficient to take the bloom off Green's map and render it unprofitable.

Nemnich adds, "M. Laurent, a Frenchman, made it not, however, as the town is really built but as it should be built, according to his better thinking. Such a plan is of no value." This map was published in Aikin's, *Thirty Miles Round Manchester*, and, if we read Stockdale's laudatory introduction in this volume as satire, we may get a truer estimate of Laurent's



value. "It is very extraordinary that a foreigner, without knowledge of the language or previous acquaintance with the country, should be able by his eye alone, without the assistance of any instrument, during the most rigorous season of the year, to survey, in less than two months two towns of some miles in circumference, with all their intricate communications". If Stockdale really believed this he must have been extremely credulous.

Green's qualifications, first as a surveyor of exceptional training, and secondly, as one who knew the topography of the district almost by heart, with every facility of access to land and owners, enabled him to produce the first standard survey of Manchester based on scientific principles. Seven years were occupied in preparing his plan, which was published in April 1794. It was engraved on copper, in nine sheets and cost 10 guineas. The plan was on the largest scale yet delineated, 60 yards to an inch, or about 29 inches to the mile and is correctly oriented. Such a publication was a daring enterprise at this period. The number of well-to-do subscribers likely to want such work was extremely limited. Besides the existing streets and buildings the map shows all the outlying fields, closes, and parcels of land upon which the Manchester of today is built, with the names of their proprietors. A facsimile copy of Green's map, with an introduction by Charles Roeder, was published by George Falkner in 1902.

Manchester played its part, both in men and money, on the outbreak of the war with Revolutionary France. In April 1794, the regiment of Independent Manchester Volunteers was incorporated in the 53rd Duke of York's Brigade at Chatham. Another corps that was raised here, "The Royal Manchester Volunteers", subsequently became the 104th Regiment.

In this year the Protectionist Commercial Association was formed which, a quarter of a century later, was to become the free trade Chamber of Commerce. It held its first meetings in Spencer's Tavern and took the imposing title of "the Commercial Association of Merchants Trading on the Continent of Europe." Nemnich states:

I have seen the plan of a Commercial Society established at Manchester in 1794. Those merchants who exported goods to the continent of Europe have united in order to prevent those abuses, tricks and deceptions to which foreigners were formerly exposed.







Their object is firstly to oppose as much as possible the embezzlements of mercantile property in foreign countries, which formerly existed, and to expose swindlers and other dishonest persons. Secondly, to take such suitable measures for the advantage and security of trade and to promote a greater regularity of payments. Thirdly, to take all care generally for the interest of their trade and for benefit of the whole community and to employ the requisite means for these ends. So praiseworthy an object deserves approval and imitation. But what foreigners lose in Manchester is certainly not to be compared with what Manchester loses abroad.

C. F. Brandt, a German merchant and manufacturer, was elected First President of the Commercial Society. He had a warehouse at 22, Bond Street (Now Princess Street). One of the first acts of the Society was to print 10,000 copies of a circular, translated into French, German and Italian. This was sent to foreign correspondents informing them of the steps which had been taken to prevent the unmercantile practices listed by Nemnich.

The increase of the Roman Catholic population is marked by the building of St. Mary's, Mulberry Street, which is the second oldest Catholic Church in Manchester. In 1794, the Rector of St. Chad's, Rook Street bought a plot of land near Ridgefield, and proceeded to build a new church. How many people lie buried beneath St. Mary's would be difficult to say, but interments took place there for twelve years. Bishop Vaughan's remark about the carvings, "no matter on what side of the church, you look, you behold a hidden gem", has been transferred to the church itself.

A Poor Rate, at 5s. in the £, produced £9,270 14s. 0d. and shows the increasing burden of this social service. At this time the local government of the township was deplorable. There was no check on the revenue and the expenditure was equally uncontrolled. Property inequitably assessed was, by favouritism or bribery, accepted at a reduced amount or omitted altogether. After the appointment, in 1792, of Richard Unite as Deputy Constable and salaried Overseer, things went from bad to worse. Thomas Battye, whose pamphlets exposed the abuses, may have exaggerated but his main accusations are supported by other trustworthy evidence. According to the Court Leet Records, Richard Unite was dismissed before October 2, 1796.

Scholes Directory of 1794 contains "A short history of Man-



chester; first published in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*", from which the following is taken.

Manchester was accounted a large and populous town even fifty years ago; but since that time is supposed to have increased in more than a triple proportion, both in respect of buildings and inhabitants. The houses amount to a number not far short of 12,000; and perhaps it may not be an over-rate to reckon seven persons to each, when it is considered that, of the houses occupied by the working people of various descriptions, many have two, three, and sometimes four families in each. For though many hundred houses have been built in the course of a few late years, yet are they constantly engaged as soon as possible; . . . yet population appears to have increased more rapidly than buildings, hence competition naturally arises, and hence, a temporary advance of rents. . . . The population of the town may be further calculated from the great number of cotton factories within the boundaries of the town, wherein it is thought that 20,000 men, women and children are employed in the mere branches of preparing warp and weft. If to these be added the many hands applied to weaving etc; besides all the more general mechanics, as well as householders, domestic servants &c; Manchester may be ranked as the most populous town in Great Britain. . . . The streets are about 600, many of them spacious and airy, great part of the old buildings being removed, and the new streets allowed a convenient breadth. The town is well lighted every night by 2,000 lamps, and guarded by nearly 200 watchmen. . . . There are two market places, the old and the new; which are well supplied with everything in season, though at high rates. . . . The Irwell having at a great expense, been rendered navigable for vessels of twenty or thirty tons burthen, there is a constant communication between Liverpool, Manchester, and the intermediate places on the Irwell and Mersey, to the great advantage of the proprietors and the country at large. This navigation and more especially the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, opening a passage from Manchester to the Mersey at thirty miles distance, have together greatly contributed to the present highly flourishing state of the town. . . . The banks of the river and various brooks about the town afford excellent situations for the numerous dyeworks employed for a multitude of fabrics. Among other things the manufacture and finishing of hats is carried on to an extent of great importance.

Near the end, is an alphabetical list of streets and lanes, those marked \* being laid out but not built upon. These show that the growth of the town was mainly in Ancoats and Chorlton Row. (Chorlton-on-Medlock).

Owing to the scarcity of corn in 1795, riots occurred and a

curfew was imposed from 9 p.m. A petition in favour of peace was forwarded to the government. The increase in the followers of George Fox, led to the building of the Friends Meeting House in Mount Street, 1795.

The first decade of the Industrial Revolution, with its long hours and overcrowded housing conditions, which, impairing the physique of the workers, particularly the children, led to the prevalence of epidemic disease, especially fevers. To combat these unwholesome conditions Drs. Ferriar and Percival, with their friends, established a voluntary Board of Health, in 1796, "with the results that factory hygiene and regulation by law were brought to the attention both of the authorities in Manchester and of the Imperial Parliament." (Laski).

Dr. Ferriar endeavoured to give the poor, elementary sanitary instruction while, at the same time he pointed out to their wealthier brethren that their own safety depended on the preservation of the health of the labouring classes. In the same year four detached houses in Portland Street were opened as The House of Recovery, i.e., formed into wards for the reception of fever patients. Later the fever hospital was removed to Aytoun Street.

Again there were riots owing to food shortage. Suspicion of short weight led to an outbreak in the potato market, while loads of meal were seized at New Cross and Newton Lane and wantonly destroyed. Troops had to be called out to restore order. Again the curfew was imposed; public houses were closed at 7 p.m., and any persons out after 9 p.m. had to account for themselves. Clergy, gentry and tradesmen pledged themselves to eat one-third less flour to relieve the scarcity. Later in the year, meetings were held to take measures "for preserving liberty and property from republicans and levellers." Thomas Battye published a pamphlet revealing a scandal in connection with the new workhouse.

The Duke of Rutland, who visited Manchester in 1797 says:

We entered the dirty but large town, and had at least a mile to drive over the stones before we reached the inn, (the Bridgewater Arms), situated in the best and most respectable part of the town. Once there we found ourselves very comfortable. . . . There are some very good streets filled with very respectable and decent houses, but these are chiefly on the outskirts of the town. All kinds of manufactures are established here and few towns can boast more of the riches and wealth of its inhabitants than Man-

chester. This town has experienced in a great degree, the fostering care of the minister during the whole war and has suffered little or nothing in its trade. . . . Our first visit was to some cotton works, to which we had some difficulty in procuring admittance nor was it till we had disclosed our names that we were allowed access to them, when we experienced every civility from the proprietor. . . . Every possible care is taken of the health of the people, of whom including men, women and children, there are not less than 1,000 employed. From the cotton works we proceeded to a room where they are cutting velvet, which is done by women. It is done by a sharp pointed instrument which runs slightly over the top of the stuff, without penetrating it and produces that softness to the touch. The instrument is carried along in innumerable lines parallel to one another so that no interval is visible.

The beginning of 1797 has been described as "the darkest hour in English history." When invasion was planned, using the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, "Church and King Clubs took steps to form an armed volunteer force for their internal defence." The night watch, taken over from the Court Leet by the Police Commissioners, numbered fourteen. At the end of this year, there were riots again owing to the high price of corn and flour.

In 1797 Manchester and Salford contributed largely both in men and money to the public service. In March, the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Manchester and Salford Volunteer Infantry were drawn out for the first time. In that year Manchester and Salford raised in aid of the Government the large sum, for that period, of £25,453. In 1798, on February 14, Colonel Acker's regiment of "Manchester and Salford Volunteers" was drawn up in Piccadilly, and presented with their colours by Mrs Hartley. On October 25 in the same year, Colonel Ford's Manchester and Salford Light Horse Volunteers assembled opposite the house of the late Mr Thomas Johnson, High Street, to receive their colours (his gift) from the hands of Mrs. Ford.

To the little Jewish community, came Nathan Rothschild who, at the age of twenty, settled in Manchester in 1797. He had been sent by his father from Frankfort, where the only trader in Manchester goods had refused to show them his patterns. In a conversational biography, Rothschild said, "I soon found that there were three profits, the raw material, the dyeing, and manufacturing. I said to the manufacturer; I will supply you with material and dye and you will supply me with the manu-

factured goods. So I got three profits instead of one, and I could afford to sell goods cheaper than anybody." He became naturalised in 1804 and removed to London in the next year.

There were as yet, no municipal services and, in 1798, the scavenging of the town was let to a private contractor for the sum of £700, while the street lighting contractor was allowed 16s. 2d. for each oil lamp on the twenty dark nights between October and April. Thirty night watchmen were appointed for the winter months at 10s. a week. Again at the end of the year, there were riots owing to the failure of crops, and premiums were offered for the largest loads of flour and oatmeal brought into the market.

In the year Napoleon became First Consul, 1799, the Steward of the Court Leet, John Cross delivered his charge to the jury and said:

The manly, patriotic, and devoted support you have supplied to the Country during the present war; a thousand marines furnished at your own expense to the national strength; the large share you bore of the county subscriptions; the vast amount of your voluntary aid, contributed in the last year to the exigencies of the state; two thousand gallant volunteers, armed, disciplined, and embodied for the defence of the laws and national liberties of your country, are memorable and convincing testimonies of the public spirit that prevails in Manchester.

But he made a scathing attack on the lack of enterprise by the Police Commissioners. "Impotent and vain are all the powers the Legislature can bestow; futile and unavailing the best system of regulations that human ingenuity can devise; alike useless and unwieldy every body politic or physical, unanimated by the voluntary exertions of those to whom are committed the management and direction of their powers. This is the vital principle which alone can give active energy to any system."

It is remarkable that, in the middle of a war, and when business was so dislocated, they should shake off their inertia and begin seriously to grapple with the problems they had previously avoided. Much of the credit is due to Brandt, a German merchant who had been domiciled in the town for almost twenty years. Appointed Boroughreeve and Treasurer of the Police Commissioners, he at once began to stir things up. A full-time police officer, to give general assistance to the Treasurer and



Commissioners, was appointed at £75 a year; the watchmen increased to forty; and the firemen to twenty-two; but the last-named were paid only at the discretion of the Constables and had to make their living elsewhere. The scavenging was let for £100 less than the previous year, but the work was no better done and complaints were still numerous. A more vigorous collection of the rate was instituted and the collectors were paid on a sliding scale, 2 per cent on the first third; 3 per cent on the second third; and 5 per cent on the last third. At the end of the year, soup shops were opened to relieve destitute operatives owing to the inadequate supply of cotton.

P. A. Nemnich, a citizen of Hamburg, the author of a Commercial Dictionary of goods and commodities in twelve different languages, visited Manchester in 1799. He relates very honestly, and with considerable minuteness, what he saw and heard, giving a detailed account of the manufactures of the town. In addition, he records the introduction of many new processes, as follows:

John Wilson, who still lives in Manchester, first introduced blue, black, red and other colours in dyeing fustians. He also subsequently purchased the secret of dyeing Turkey Red. . . . In the year 1763, first appeared the velvets and some years afterwards velveteens. These goods met with uncommon approval in all Europe. . . . In the year 1770 a new method was discovered of printing cotton cloth and linen. It was effected by means of wooden rollers, with in-cut designs which were covered with colours and that thus pressed on the cloth. . . . Before 1763, manufacturers of Manchester had no direct connections with the continent of Europe for the sale of their goods but in that year several houses began to do business directly with Germany. In 1785, Charles Taylor invented a machine with hollow engraved copper cylinders, which turn round circular iron heaters, and are used in printing cloths. In 1788 was brought into practice Berthollet's new method of bleaching, and carried to such perfection that a piece of calico as it comes from the weaver; in a period of 44 hours; is printed with different colours, finished and ready for sale for which operation two or three months were formerly requisite.

Of the new industrial power he says: "Besides the other advantages of Boulton and Watts steam engines it is also to be said in their praise that they hardly at all incommode neighbours by much steam or smoke." The earlier steam engines were much disliked because of the black smoke they emitted. Nemnich also records that pattern card makers were now

established as a separate occupation and that paper making, silk goods and hats were made in the town as well as small wares such as tapes, binding etc.

In 1799, on the King's Birthday, colours were presented to the 1st Battalion of the Manchester and Salford Volunteers under the command of Colonel T. B. Bayley when a sermon was preached by their chaplain. On the occasion of the general fast in that year, the 1st and 2nd battalions of the same body were drawn out together for the first time and marched to church. Later both these, together with Colonel Ford's Light Horse and Colonel Acker's Infantry were reviewed by Major-General Nichols.



MRS. FORD NÉE ANNE JOHNSON

This beautiful contemporary silhouette was cut by Dorothy Byrom

## 26. *The Police Commissioners II*

1800-1805

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In 1800 Manchester had no gas. Its inhabitants poked about in the dim obscure light of oil lamps, or traversed its streets after dark with horn lanterns. Perukes and sedans and card parties existed; with links and lanterns; and the ladies at Assemblies had to guard against oil of tallow or wax from overhanging chandeliers or sconces anointing their dresses. It is scarcely possible for the workpeople in the mills of this generation to realise the hindrance to speedy work from stopping to snuff or renew their candles. Nor can anyone who now reads or writes uninterrupted for hours by gas light, conceive the nuisances and interruptions caused by damp or tangled wicks, bad oil, or spluttering tallow which were a part of the inevitable ill, the minor miseries of human life. (Harland).

In the eighteenth century continental people wanted to shut out English goods. During the Napoleonic wars they risked their existence as independent states to secure them. The wider horizon, that was thus opened to the Manchester trader, made him naturally discredit the ideals that his forerunners had cherished. . . . Men now wanted raw materials in great abundance, and as many foreign markets as possible. . . . The discovery that colonial markets were worth less than foreign and colonial cotton than American cotton, revolutionised Manchester's political faith. Singularly enough the United States were then still dazzled with the fancy of becoming a purely agricultural community. (Hertz.)

New energy seems to have inspired the Police Commissioners at the beginning of the century. A special audit of the accounts of the District Commissioners, through whom the Collectors paid their money and the appointment of a new rate collector resulted in the payment of 10s. in the £ off the old debts. A sub-committee to consider the lighting, watching and scavenging business discussed the possibility of ending the contract system; but this was deferred. A report presented by a "Nuisance Committee" led to orders that projecting steps and signboards were to be removed; cellar entrances were to be

covered or fenced; butchers' stalls were no longer to obstruct the streets; and orders against wandering swine (the age-long worry of the Court Leet) were to be enforced. There was also a complaint about "smoak" from chimneys. The Surveyor of Highways sent a complaint about the accumulation of offensive matter and lack of drains in certain streets. Brick sewers, leading into the rivers, were constructed and thus began a problem of pollution that was only solved more than fifty years later.

Considering the unsettled state of the town, and the apathy or hostility which Brandt and his associates encountered from most of their fellow townsmen, it was no mean achievement to have halved the outstanding debt of the Commissioners in a single year, while at the same time reducing the current expenditure and improving the public services. (Redford).

On July 14 a circular was issued from the Police Office, appealing for fresh subscriptions towards the support of Soup Shops, which had been discontinued for lack of funds. The appeal continues :

The great relief afforded to the poor by this undertaking is acknowledged by all ranks of people; the poor have received it with gratitude; the medical faculty, (who have many opportunities to witness the distresses of the lower classed of the people), can testify the great good which this salutary and nutritious food has done, and how much it has contributed to the restoration of health amongst them. It is painful to the Committee to add that the want of it is now felt in the highest degree.

The charitable disposition of the inhabitants of this town is too well known to suppose that when it is understood that at this time the poor are in as great a need of assistance as at any period during the winter, they will not again come to their relief with eagerness. The prospect of a plentiful harvest gives us hope that by the approach of winter their situation will be more comfortable, and that through Divine providence they may enjoy the comforts of plenty, obtained by honest industry; but in the meanwhile it is very desirable that the assistance they stand in need of should not be withheld.

The Committee appealed for more personal help as the work had fallen upon a few members.

"Banck's Manchester and Salford Directory; or alphabetical list of merchants, manufacturers, and principal inhabitants, with the numbers affixed to their houses, &c. Manchester. Printed and sold by G. Banck's, corner of St. Ann's Square" was published in 1800. This volume contains 248 pages, of



which 198 are filled with the directory and eleven with an alphabetical list of the streets. One peculiarity in the directory is, that all trades and occupations are printed in italics. Two novelties are forms of contract for lighting the town and for scavenging it. There were forty-two watchmen, at 13s. weekly for the winter half year and 10s. weekly for the summer half year. The Directory contains a list of six orders and resolutions of the sessions for the good government of licensed alehouses.

The Reverend C. Cuttwell, who visited the town and published his "Tour" in 1801, says:

Manchester, being the principal repository or mart of the manufacturers, has become the great centre to which not only the country retailers but merchants from all quarters of the kingdom and foreign parts resort; and this has induced several capital woollen houses to settle at that town, and this mart is chiefly confined to one street, (Peel Street), in which a single room frequently lets from 50 to 80 guineas per annum. . . . Manufacturers have wrought an alteration in the husbandry of the land. The growth of grain is annually and gradually on the decrease. The importation from foreign countries is upon the advance; the diminished state of cultivation is one cause, and the increasing population is another. . . . Lancashire was the first county in this kingdom where the potato was first grown and it, at this time, boasts a superior cultivation of that important root.

Richard Warner in a letter dated from Manchester, July 20, 1801, remarks:

Though constantly increasing in dimensions and consideration, Manchester has never been incorporated and still remains with respect to political rights, in the confined sense of the word, nothing more than an immense village. Its streets are for the most part, spacious and healthy; its houses large, handsome and uniform; and its manufactures upon a scale of grandeur which no other place can excel or perhaps equal. The chief architectural beauty of the town is a Gothic one, the noble pile called the Old or Christ Church. . . . But the most remarkable feature in the character of Manchester is its trade, which with a success hitherto unknown in the history of commerce, has spread itself over all the civilised world; and wafted the articles made in its manufactories, from the ports of Britain to the most distant shores of both hemispheres. They consist of patterns from the cotton and silk of such immense variety that the show cards of some of the merchants contain above 2,000 samples of different Manchester goods.

He then describes a visit to a cotton mill, employing 1,500

workpeople; the making of velverts and velveteens; and concludes.

To form a complete notion of these you must conceive a population of seventy and eighty thousand people, for the most part busily employed in the various branches of useful manufactures, . . . the whole mighty wheel moved, invigorated and accelerated by a capital of ten millions of money.

W. E. A. Axon gives this description :

The Manchester of 1801 seems a small place. . . . Hulme was yet unbuilt; much of Ancoats in the same condition. Strangeways was comparatively rural; Greenheys; Chorlton-on-Medlock, or Chorlton Row as it was then called; were dotted with farms. Ardwick and Rusholme were outlying villages, the possession of which was shared by wealthy merchants and industrial farmers. . . . For the most part the merchants either lived where their trade was or at no remote distance from it. It is difficult to realize Long Millgate as a residential street but, at the beginning of the century, the High Master of the Grammar School had his house at No. 5. The originals of the Cheeryble Brothers were already in business. Their warehouse was in Cannon Street; William Grant lived in Lever Street, Daniel Grant in Mosley Street. To a large extent the merchants and manufacturers lived in the town and the separation of classes was not so marked as in later days. Whether there was more real sympathy was a different matter.

The census of 1801 gave the population of Manchester Township as 70,409; and the out-districts as follows: Ardwick 1,762, Beswick 6, Blackley 2,361, Bradford 94, Burnage 383, Cheetham 752, Crumpsall 452, C-on-M 675, Didsbury 619, Gorton 1,127, Harpurhey 118, Hulme 1,677, Levenshulme 628, Moss Side 150, Moston 618, Newton Heath 1,295, Openshaw 339, Rusholme 726, Withington 743.

The popular Whit Monday procession dates back to May 6 of this year. 1,800 children of the six Church of England Schools met in St Ann's Square and headed by the Borough-reeve and Constables with a regimental band, walked to the Collegiate Church where a special sermon was preached by Warden Blackburn. The teachers were given bread and cheese after the service. Next year they had a dinner and a quart of ale. Twelve years later the provision of strong liquour was forbidden but in that year the children received a penny bun before leaving St Ann's Square.

Direct lighting of the streets was undertaken by a Committee of the Commissioners and the police officers was appointed to

superintend the task with an assistant paid 12s., during the lighting season only.

So busy were some of the business men that at midday they took a hasty meal of a fourpenny pie and a glass of ale at the Unicorn in Church Street and this received the nickname of the "Scramble Club".

Next year, the Commissioners undertook direct scavenging and the Committee was authorised to provide carts, horses and, what seems strange to our ears, "land to deposit manure upon."

Robert Southey gives a lurid description of factory conditions at this time. After a visit to Manchester, in July 1802, he wrote his *Letters from England*, purporting to be those of a Spaniard named Espriella. He reports this statement by a factory owner about the employment of children:

They get their bread almost as soon as they can run about, and by the time they are seven or eight years old bring in money. There is no idleness among us. They come at five in the morning; we allow them half an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner; they leave work at six and another set relieves them for the night. The wheels never stand still.

Southey adds this condemnation:

They are deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment of all sports in which childhood instinctively indulges, of fresh air by day and of natural sleep by night.

Their health, physical and moral, is alike destroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting task work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic or vegetable dust which they are continually inhaling; or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope, without morals, without religion, and without shame, and bring forth slaves like themselves, to tread in the same path of misery.

He adds this unfavourable indictment of the town:

The dwellings of the labouring manufacturers are in narrow streets and lanes crowded together because every inch of land is of such value that room for light and air cannot be afforded them. Here in Manchester a great proportion of the poor lodge in cellars damp and dark, where every kind of filth is suffered to accumulate, because no exertions of domestic care can ever make such homes decent. These places are so many hotbeds of infection and the poor in large towns are rarely or never without infectious fever among them, a plague of their own, which leaves the habitations of the rich, like a Goshen of cleanliness and

comfort, unvisited. . . . A place more destitute of interesting objects than Manchester it is not easy to conceive. In size and population it is the second city [N.B. an anachronism] in the kingdom, containing above four score thousand inhabitants. Imagine this multitude crowded together in narrow streets, the houses all built of brick and blackened with smoke; frequent large buildings among them where you hear from within the everlasting din of machinery and where when the bell rings it is to call wretches to their work instead of to their prayers. Imagine this and you have the materials of a picture of Manchester.

By this time, the town was lighted by 2,000 oil lamps but considerable annoyance was caused by the smell of the oil stored below the Police Office, the situation of which is preserved in the street of that name at the bottom of King Street. It seems strange to read that annual payments were still being made for "Carting the engine in case of fire", that engine still being without wheels of its own. At the end of the year, the retiring Treasurer was able to show a credit balance of over £1,000 and the Commissioners proudly printed their accounts for public approval.

Some idea of the carrying trade may be formed from the fact that in 1803 Messrs Pickford & Co offered to place at the disposal of the Government, if required, 400 horses, 50 wagons, and 28 boats. Wheeler gives an interesting table of the resources of the town in which there were 20,065 men between the ages of 15 and 60 and 3,092 horses, 2,169 carts and wagons, 53 barges, and 40 vessels of 30 tons each. Food stocks comprised over 7,000 cattle, 433 sheep and goats, 3,265 pigs, flour or meal 3,529 qrs. and 2,667 sacks, wheat 3,394, oats 1,737, barley 490, beans and peas 740 qrs. in each case, potatoes 387 sacks. There were 146 ovens in constant use.

Volunteer enthusiasm was at its height in 1804, owing to the threatened French invasion, and 14 different corps, comprising 5,816 men were, on April 12, reviewed by the Duke of Gloucester on Sale Moor. Many of these provided their own arms and uniform and the others were equipped and paid from a voluntary subscription fund for defence, which totalled £22,000. An account of their names, numbers, uniforms and equipment is given in Aston's *Manchester Guide*. The review was one of the finest military spectacles ever witnessed in the neighbourhood and proved a great attraction to all the countryside.



Complaints about the inequality of the Police Rate caused the Commissioners to request the Churchwardens for permission to inspect and copy the Rate Book and, after this was done, much property was re-assessed and the rate made more equitable.



LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY  
ROOMS, GEORGE STREET

The Literary and Philosophical Society's rooms in George Street, erected in 1804, were destroyed in the blitz of 1940. It was in this building that John Dalton had his laboratory, where his great discoveries were made. Here he conceived and worked out his atomic theory.

Thomas Battye returned to his attack on the town authorities with a pamphlet criticising the Constables' Accounts.

Joseph Aston published his *Manchester Guide*, the first account of the town as it appeared to the writer. Beyond where Ducie Street is today, only a fringe of houses extended to Ardwick. The ground occupied by London Road Station and

beyond that to Ancoats Lane was open fields. Shudehill pits, from which part of the town's water supply was obtained, stood on one side of Swan Street, with gardens opposite. Most of the land between Miller Street and Hanover Street was unbuilt upon. Where Victoria Station now stands, there were fine houses with gardens, like the fine Georgian one of Mr. Clowes. Much of the area in the neighbourhood of Quay Street still formed gardens and allotments. In Oxford Street, only four buildings were to be seen after passing St. Peter's Church.

Picturesque Garratt Hall stood on the banks of Shooter's Brook, which then ran open, and Granby Row fields were entirely unbuilt upon. Markets for the sale of different varieties of produce were scattered over the town; those for fish being at the Shambles and in Pool Fold; for meat in the Market Place, at New Cross, Bank Top, and in Turner Street; for corn in Fennel Street; for potatoes at Campfield; for fruit in Fennel Street (Apple Market); for cattle at Hyde's Cross; and for cheese in Hanging Ditch.

Aston gives this contemporary account of the water supply :—  
“The water for culinary purposes is chiefly obtained from wells, furnished with pumps. There is but one draw-well in the whole town and that, very properly, is enclosed in a building which is always locked, except the well is in actual use. Two springs in Castlefield, which issue from the side of the brow, have the reputation of better water than any other wells and are much resorted to for the tea table. The next in reputation is a pump in the College yard. Whether either of the springs have been analysed or not, does not come within the knowledge of the editor of this work. Almost every house of moderate size is furnished with a lead cistern, which serves as a reservoir for the rain which falls upon the building. By some, this water is used not only for cleaning, but for brewing and even culinary purposes. Many of the old streets are supplied with soft water from the Infirmary pool and the pits at Shudehill, by means of pipes brought from them. The reservoirs are kept full by means of an engine near Holt Town, which throws up water from the river Medlock, above the level of Shudehill pits, into which it runs, and from thence into pipes under the pavement in Oldham Street, into the Infirmary pool, from whence it descends into the lower parts of the town.”

Dean's *Manchester and Salford Directory, or alphabetical list of the merchants, manufacturers, and inhabitants in general, with the numbers affixed to the doors* was published in 1804, with a map wrongly oriented. From this we learn that the present Piccadilly was called Lever's Row, and the present London Road, from Lees Street to Store Street, was Shooter's Row; thence to Granby Row, Bank Top; and London Place to Ardwick Green Bridge. There were only two houses in Oxford Street between St. Peter's Church and the Rochdale Canal. There was only a belt of buildings on both sides of Deansgate to Knott Mill. Water Street, beyond Quay Street, had only buildings on one side next the river. In the Directory, the total number of streets was 704, being an increase of 46 since 1800.

Joseph Nadin, the Deputy Constable, was appointed superintendent of the night watch in 1805 and this brought it under the same control as the day police, appointed by the Court Leet.

The Police Commissioners had purchased the police office and adjoining house out of current funds and yet had a credit balance of £2,500.

The news of Trafalgar did not reach Manchester until November 11, three weeks after the event. Joseph Aston published a *Life of Nelson* on the 18th; surely one of the earliest biographies of that hero. A Town's meeting at the Bull's Head, under the chairmanship of the Boroughreeve, drew up an address of congratulation to the King and a gracious reply was received. A subscription list for the wounded and the widows and children of the fallen was opened. The Volunteers had various field-days and the Gentlemen's Concerts produced a patriotic programme. Later, a public Thanksgiving, when all shops were closed and business suspended, was held in the churches and chapels.

## 27. *The Police Commissioners III*

1806-1809

IN the later eighteenth century the town had been dominated by a comparatively few merchants' families who, according to Aiken, had introduced a new standard of luxury. Their trade carried by means of riders and factors, through every part of Europe, had made Manchester one of the great commercial capitals. Now, the wealth of the merchant was rivalled by that of industrialists who challenged their social ascendancy.

On January 20, 1806, the Portico Library in Mosley Street was opened. It combined the advantage of a news room and library and cost the subscribers £7,000. The files of newspapers preserved here are said to be the most perfect of any collection out of London.

Manchester people were polite and the workpeople sober and industrious, according to the account of the Archdukes of Austria who visited the town in 1806. They observe:

Of various manufactories here there is none which manufactures the entire articles which it furnishes; on the contrary, everyone is exclusively employed on its own peculiar branch. This division of Labour is, we think, the principal cause of the high degree of perfection which the manufactures here attain. To this we may add the industrious sober, and thrifty character of the workpeople more than we have met in any other place. Wheresoever we went in Manchester we were astonished by the decorum and politeness of the people; and as for their masters they seemed as anxious to learn from us as we were to be informed by them, and we were much struck by their knowledge and comprehension of Continental affairs, and their hospitality was almost without bounds.

Increase in the Jewish population led to the removal of the synagogue to Ainsworth's Court, Long Millgate. The room was approached by a flight of wooden steps outside the building and was rented for the sum of £10, payable quarterly.



The vast increase in the Trade of this town has occasioned the erection of many new structures. Among these the Manchester Commercial Building is most entitled to notice. The foundation of this was laid the 20th July 1806 and since that period the structure has been rapidly advancing. It is to be built entirely of Runcorn stone, and is from the designs of Mr. Harrison of Chester. The principal object of its erection is to furnish a place of public resort for the merchants and manufacturers of the place and neighbourhood, on the plan of Lloyd's Coffee House in London, and every article of political and commercial intelligence is to be procured for their perusal. (Britton.)



SECOND EXCHANGE

This original name for the Second Exchange is confirmed by two advertisements in Harrop's *Mercury* of July 15, 1806. The site chosen was at the corner of Exchange Street where 1,200 square yards were rented at 5s. a square yard, according to Butterworth. Four-hundred shares of £50 each were issued to raise the necessary funds and later the site was bought for £12,000. Lord Ducie gave 592 yards of land for street improvements. Facing the Market Place, the north front was in the form of a semicircle, supported by Doric columns. That portion entered from the rear and used as a Post Office was opened first. On January 2, 1809, the Exchange News Room was opened to subscribers of two guineas per annum. The grand staircase of 37 stone steps led to the dining-room 92 ft. ×

29 ft., which was first used for the Jubilee dinner. The porter of those days was provided with a resplendent uniform. When the building was extended, bricks of the unusual size of 14" × 7" × 4", weighing 28 lbs, were found in some of the internal walls. In the first years after the opening of the new building, the number of subscribers was 1,543. Not until nine years later was the Exchange illuminated by gas.

By 1807, the Police Commissioners might fairly claim to have established themselves as the most important governing body in the town. They had greatly improved the main services of cleansing, lighting, and watching and had extended their activities into such subsidiary branches of administration as the suppression of nuisances and the management of fire engines. This progress had been achieved while the town was in a most unsettled state, while prices were abnormally high and fluctuating wildly; yet the police rate remained stabilised at 1s. in the £ throughout the period, although the Commissioners would have been legally justified in raising it to 1s. 6d. Evidently the reforming energy of the leading Commissioners had produced encouraging results in finance as well as in other branches of local administration. (Redford.)

In this year they began to make gas in a small way and fixed a light outside the police offices, to the surprise of passers-by. Britton in *Beauties of England* says:

About 40 years ago, only eight flats (vessels so called) were employed in the trade between Manchester and Liverpool but now more than 120 are constantly in motion. The land carriage also has increased, in the same period, more than in equal proportion. The canals in like manner, are continually floating goods to Hull &c. Wagons and carts are employed in abundance. 18 coaches leave Manchester daily for London and different places, and others three times a week; whereas two only left this place twice a week so late as 1770, one of them for London and the other to Liverpool. In 1754, the Flying Coach engaged to be in London in 4½ days, now the mail coaches constantly run it in 30 hours; and the Defiance and Telegraph coaches reached Manchester from London, on the peace in October 1802, in less than 20 hours.

On January 27, 1808, a town's meeting at the Bull's Head appointed a Committee to consider obtaining a new Local Act for improvements in the town. The suggestion that the manorial rights should be bought for £90,000 led to a war of pamphlets.

But the scheme collapsed and nearly forty years later the Corporation paid more than twice that sum.

Increasing demands on the Poor Law caused a central office to be opened in Fountain Street with a salaried staff and in the same building was found "The Comptroller's Office for the King's Taxes and Parochial Rates."

On Tuesday, May 14, 1808, Richard Holden, a Rotherham attorney, paid a visit and, in his Diary records:

The town is abominably filthy, the Steam Engines pestiferous the Dyehouses noisome and offensive and the Water of the River as black as Ink or the Stygian Lake. A degree of Insolence and brutality in the lower orders more than unusually met with, but such as might be expected in a Town where none are so far elevated above them as to command respect nor any inclined to espouse the Side of good manners; a few of the Manufacturers we are told attend to the principles and morals of those they employ but these are rare examples.

Heavy taxation, owing to the continuation of the war, the injury to trade by the Orders in Council and a depreciated currency made wages inadequate to support the working people. On May 24, 1808, a meeting of weavers was held in St. George's Fields to promote a Bill for fixing a minimum rate of wages. When the meeting was resumed on the next day, the alarmed magistrates read the Riot Act, although there was no riot, and ordered the 4th Dragoon Guards to disperse the meeting.

One weaver was killed, several wounded and the others arrested. The military seem to have disliked the service for they collected a day's pay and presented it to the widow of the poor man who was killed.

It should be noted that the weavers were only seeking economic legislation to relieve their condition and were not, as yet, demanding political reform. That was to come several years later.

Colonel Hanson of Strangeways Hall, who enjoyed the confidence of the weavers, endeavoured to persuade the men to disperse by the assurance that their interest would be cared for. A year later for this "Interference", the "Weavers' Friend" as he was called, was fined £100 and imprisoned for six months. The effect of this ill-advised prosecution, which was long and injuriously felt, introduced that bitter feeling between

employed and employers which was manifested at intervals for the next twenty years.

Sir Oswald Mosley, the Lord of the Manor, had made an attempt to ease the water shortage. From two settling ponds at Beswick, which received the overflow of the Medlock, water was pumped by a 45 h.p. engine into a reservoir, 67 feet above Piccadilly. From this reservoir water was conveyed by wooden pipes to Shudehill Pits and the Infirmary Pond. This supply, limited to 120,000 gallons a day, together with wells and pumps, furnished Manchester with water for some time. Of course, each house had its own rain water butt or tank.

A public meeting was held in November 1808 with the Boroughreeve in the chair to consider a scheme for supplying the town with water. A resolution was passed that "it is worth while for the inhabitants of Manchester to take the management of such a concern into their own hands, and apply the profit arising from it to the improvement of the town, or other public purposes." At a further meeting on February 2, 1809, a Committee was appointed to oppose a private Bill then before Parliament.

This Bill was promoted by the owners of a sandstone quarry in the West of England who, with a view to extending sale of their stone water pipes, projected a scheme for supplying Manchester with water. In spite of local opposition, the Waterworks Act was passed on June 20, 1809. A Waterworks Company was formed with the same Directors as the Stone Pipe Company. Thus began one of the most barefaced and dishonourable transactions that ever disgraced a private company. By Articles of Agreement, dated July 4, 1808, Sir Oswald Mosley had conveyed to the Company "the then existing waterworks, aqueduct, reservoirs, and all machinery, main pipes &c." subject to an annual payment of £642 10s. 1d. or of a sum of purchase money.

The Act empowered the Directors to raise £60,000 in shares and £50,000 on mortgage of this sum, no less than £14,000 was paid for the water rights to the Stone Pipe Company, but of this Sir Oswald received nothing.

On July 5, 1810, the Waterworks Company reported that it had ordered 15 miles of main and 45 miles of service pipes varying in bore from 18" to 3", for the supply of water to the town. It was afterwards learned that iron could have been



bought for 30 per cent less. The stone pipes were delivered as rapidly as possible and, to prevent any test, were laid in different streets without any junctions being made. Not until the Stone Pipe Company had received the huge sum of £36,984 was a test made, in July 1812, when the pipes burst and proved unable to bear even the small pressure laid on.

Although the Waterworks Company became insolvent, the scheme dragged on miserably for four years more. The shareholders were the greatest losers, but all this time the townsmen were suffering from an inadequate supply of water. The injury done to the streets and the inconvenience to the inhabitants are beyond calculation.

In 1816 local gentlemen were appointed as Directors of the Company and, on April 11 they secured a New Act which gave them further powers to raise money, and the stone pipes were replaced by iron ones, through which a supply, not very adequate or pure, was received. This Act required the Company to make fire plugs in every street supplied with water from the mains, the keys of the plugs to be deposited where the fire engines were kept.

George III entered on the fiftieth year of his accession on October 25, 1809. Many townsmen, owing to strong disapproval of conviction of Colonel Hanson, were backward in preparing to celebrate the Jubilee. However, after a public meeting plans were finally approved, Church bells rang out merrily to open the day and the inhabitants assembled outside the New Exchange at 10 a.m. where their loyal address to be presented to the King, was read. Then a procession of officials, gentry and townsmen, headed by the Volunteer Rifle Corps and their band, marched to the Old Church where the Reverend C. W. Ethelston preached a vigorous laudatory sermon.

The full dress of the "upper ten" consisted of a single-breasted blue- or claret-coloured dress coat with brass buttons, some of which were the "Church and King" button with a representation of the Old Church, a single-breasted buff-coloured vest, pretty open in front as to display an immense white cravat, drab or black kersey knee breeches, with hessian or top boots, and a tall beaver silk hat. These made an imposing sight.

After service the procession passed through streets gay with flags and bunting to St. Ann's Square.

Two subscription books were opened: one to enlarge the Jubilee School, in Bridge Street Strangeways, for the training of domestic servants and the other for the Lancasterian School with 800 children, in Lever Street.

In these days of concern with traffic problems, it is surprising to learn that, almost a century and a half ago, the townsmen were facing the same problems, and issued an interesting pamphlet with "Directions for Walking the Streets and the Conduct of Carriages". The pamphlet advocates the rule "Keep to the right" and concludes with this description of the confusion of the times: "In walking down Market Sted Lane to the Exchange it is likely a person will be pushed all ways at least twenty times, sometimes against the houses, others off the flags notwithstanding his efforts to walk regular; the fact is, without rule you are forced in and out running one against another to the annoyance of all."



MARKET PLACE, 1810

From an oil-painting by Joseph Parry

## 28. *Thomas Fleming*

1810-1815

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THE *Tradesman*, a magazine published in 1810, contains a topographical and commercial history of Manchester, which ends with this interesting note on the food supply of the town :

With respect to various kinds of vegetables, Manchester and its neighbourhood is well supplied from gardens about Warrington, and other parts of the interior brought by canals; and apples, which form a considerable part of the diet, even of the poor in this town, are imported by the same conveyance as far distant as the cider counties. The supply of beef and poultry is very plentiful on the market days and wild fowl of various kinds are brought to market during the different seasons. With fish also Manchester is better provided than might be expected from its inland situation. The greatest quantity of sea fish comes from the Yorkshire coast, consisting of cod, lobsters and turbot. Soles, chiefly of a small size, come from the Lancashire coast. Salmon are brought in plenty from the rivers Mersey and Ribble, principally the latter. The rivers in the neighbourhood abound in trout, and what is called brood, which is young salmon from one to two years old, and not easily distinguished from trout, which they closely resemble in shape, but are more delicate to the taste. The Irwell at Manchester, and for a considerable distance below is, however, destitute of fish, the water being poisoned by liquor flowing in from different dye houses and manufactories. Many ponds and old marl pits in the neighbourhood are well stored with carp and trench, and pike and other fresh water fish are mostly found in the market. The poor have a welcome addition to their fare in the supply of herrings from the Isle of Man, which, in the season are brought in large quantities and are sold at a very cheap rate.

Until 1810 the Police Commissioners had always elected the Boroughreeve as their Treasurer, thus preserving an intimate connection between the old and the new governing bodies. But in this year they elected Thomas Fleming who, up to the time of his appointment as Treasurer, had held no sort of office

under the Court Leet. For the next ten years, during the most harassing years of the French war, he dominated the government of the town.

This remarkable man who, according to the Tory newspapers of the time was of strict integrity and self-sacrificing local patriotism was accused by the Radicals of tyranny and corrupt administration. These charges of corruption were never proved against him and the proprietor of the *Manchester Observer* was fined £250 for having libelled him. Unfortunately, the Minutes of the Commissioners covering this period are missing, probably having disappeared at a later date during the dispute about Oswald Milne's claim for compensation when the municipal borough was incorporated.

Archibald Prentice, whose biased *Recollections* place all the blame for the suffering and want caused by the drawn-out war with France on the Tory government, without considering what horrors would have followed Napoleon's conquest of these islands, strangely enough, never mentions Fleming.

As a matter of fact, although any owner or occupier of £30 in value was entitled to become a Police Commissioner, it was very difficult even to get a quorum, while few townsmen were willing to accept the onerous financial responsibility of the Treasureship. It must be remembered that Fleming's office was unpaid and that frequently he gave his own personal security at the bank for the Police Accounts when the Commissioners were without money. In fact, when he resigned, his Radical critics feared to accept financial responsibility and he was urgently requested to continue in office until the Commissioners were out of debt.

There were corrupt officials before and after Fleming's time and it is unfair to saddle him with sole responsibility for those unmasked during his term of office. "Fleming was evidently a man of great public spirit, unusual financial capacity, and almost boundless energy; but in his personal appearance and demeanour there was little to suggest the vulgar, pushing self-made Lancashire business man of the type caricatured by Thomas Carlyle." (Redford).

The increasing size of the town now made it profitable for hackney carriages to ply for hire. Concern for the growing problem of drainage was shown by the Commissioners order in 1811, that drains and soughs were to be repaired at the



expense of the Police Funds. Their chief officer was instructed to superintend the proceedings of the Waterworks Company and thus that body was made to assist at its own expense in the completion of the "Plan of the Sough's" projected before its own formation.

The population of the Township, in 1811, was 79,459; of whom 9,000 spinners earned 7s. and 12,000 weavers 11s. a week, when fully employed.

Pigot's *Manchester and Salford Directory* for this year was issued with a map, "showing every alteration up to the present time." 10,800 names occupied the Directory, 525 county manufacturers are added, and eight pages, in triple columns, contain the list of streets. Further land for building was obtained by the demolition of Radcliffe, or Pool Fold, Hall which stood back in the angle formed by Market Street and Cross Street.

Four successive years of bad harvests, with the consequent rises in prices, had added to the privations of working people whose wages were reduced or ceased entirely owing to the loss of trade. Brougham in the House of Commons quoted Sir Robert Peel, "whose property in parts consists of cottages and little pieces of ground let out to workpeople, told us that lately he went to look after his rent, and when he entered those dwellings and found them so miserably altered, so stript of their wonted furniture and other little comforts—and when he saw their inhabitants sitting down to a scanty dinner of oatmeal and water, their only meal in the four and twenty hours, he could not stand the sight and came away unable to ask his rent."

No wonder the misery of the people led to violent outbreaks in the next year. Reference to the Court Leet Records of that year show that not only were many butchers selling unwholesome meat but that dealers in meat, potatoes, coal and milk were cheating their customers by giving short weight. Fortunately the writings of Cobbett and the teaching of reading and writing in Sunday Schools, which enabled thousands to read his pamphlets, led to the demand for parliamentary reform as the panacea of the nation's ills and did much to prevent revolutionary violence. Prentice prints a glowing tribute to the patient, unregarded, unrewarded, unknown, often much despised workers in the over-crowded stifling garret, or the dark under-ground schoolroom, who were "creating thought among the hitherto unthinking masses. To this voluntary labour,

unpaid labour, heaven directed but despised labour, is mainly owing our exemption from sanguinary revolution."

It comes almost as a comic relief to read that the oldest fire engine was ordered to be repaired and put on wheels. Hitherto the older engines had been taken to the fires on carts. But the efforts of the firemen were still stultified by lack of water.

A public meeting called in the Exchange dining-room to send an address of thanks to the Regent for retaining the former ministers in office led to the issue of an appeal to townsmen to gather and oppose this proposal. "A Warning Voice" asserted: "I address you from the solemn conviction, that by the success of the contemplated measure, not only your worldly interests, but your moral and intellectual character would be laid prostrate—would be delivered, bound for sacrifice into the hands of the minister, and be immolated by him at the foot of the throne." So strenuous was the opposition that the meeting, called for April 8, was cancelled.

Some members of the crowd which had assembled, invaded the newsroom, and, after some horse-play, began to wreck it and the military had to be called out to suppress the disorder. On Saturday the 18th, dealers in Shudehill market were asking 2*d.* for 3 lbs. of potatoes; much beyond the means of those who came to buy. Some of the women began to take the goods by force and again the military were called out, but the rioters were not dispersed until the price had been reduced to 5½ lbs. for 2*d.* Two days later, there was a more serious outbreak at New Cross. A cart, laden with meal, was stopped and the contents carried away. All the shops in the neighbourhood were closed, the cavalry were called out and the Riot Act read, but the mob dispersed without injury. Naturally, the farmers would not bring any more produce to market until they were promised full protection by the magistrates.

On May 26 some working men, under the leadership of John Knight drew up six resolutions (printed by Prentice) dealing with peace and parliamentary reform. When they met again on June 11 to discuss an address to the Regent and a petition to the House of Commons that had been prepared, they were arrested by Nadin and marched to the New Bailey Prison. Next day they were charged with combining for seditious purposes and committed to Lancaster Castle. Not until August 28 were they acquitted and allowed to return home, but without a

penny compensation for their losses and sufferings. Joseph Nadin, the Deputy Constable, had recently had his salary raised to £350 a year by the Court Leet. Of him Prentice says: "For more than ten years, this coarse man was the real ruler of Manchester, under a succession of municipal officers and magistrates, who thought they exercised a wholesome authority when, at his suggestion they sought to suppress, by every means of coercion, the rising demand for political and social rights. Stancliff replies: "Those whose duty it is to keep order are certainly not always quick to seek or recognize the real origin of the disorder, and Joseph Nadin was certainly not a universally popular figure in Manchester, but the idea that the Church and King men of the day were such as would allow themselves to be dictated to by their permanent official seems to be a little fanciful."

On December 18, a resolution was passed at a meeting in the Star Inn: "That a Society be instituted in Manchester under the name of the Pitt Club for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of that great patriotic and illustrious statesman, the Right Honourable William Pitt, and that the members do meet annually on every 28th of May and that the first meeting be holden upon the 28th of May, 1813." There were 192 original members, each of whom was to wear a medal, suspended by a blue ribbon, at the anniversary dinner, such medal to be provided by the Committee at a cost of 2 guineas.

In the first month of the next year, a committee was formed for printing and circulating political tracts. The *Manchester Review* of Summer, 1955, contains a notice that some original records relating to this club had been received by the Central Reference Library.

In 1813 there was an abundant harvest. The opening of India to all British merchants, by ending the monopoly of the East India Company, led to a revival of trade.

Although the Waterworks Company had extended its supply it was still unable to furnish an adequate supply or sufficient to water the streets in hot weather or to meet the needs of the fire brigade. In 1814 the Commissioners sank wells in King Street, High Street, Market Street and Shudehill in case of fire. They also paid to Mr. Croxton Johnson, the owner, £6,500 for the house in which Dr. White lived, at the corner of King Street and Cross Street; where Lloyds Bank now stands. The first idea





DR. WHITE'S RESIDENCE, WITH YORK HOTEL ON RIGHT, KING STREET



was to adapt it for a Town Hall, as objections were made to pulling it down. "In vain shall we attempt any modern efforts to adorn and beautify the town, whilst the stately mansions of its former inhabitants, erected during the last century, are either refaced or destroyed. It is not possible for the modern architect to produce an elevation more handsome or more appropriate." Leech. *Guide*, 1815.

An important medical advance was the opening of a School of Anatomy in Bridge Street on October 1, by Joseph Jordan. Three years later his certificates were accepted by the Board of Apothecaries, whose licence was essential, and enabled the possessor legally to charge for medicines. Four years later again, his school was recognized by the Royal College of Surgeons. Five years later again the school was moved to Mount Street.

One result of the German War of Liberation was that many German merchants came to Manchester with an intimate knowledge of the commercial wants of continental countries. This enabled the cotton trade to take full advantage of the opening of European markets and the resumption of the import of American cotton by the ending of the disastrous war with U.S.A. Many of these immigrants were Jews who, of course, increased the size of the synagogue congregation so that a larger one was opened in Halliwell Street, Long Millgate, in 1825.

Expansion of the town to the north was accelerated by the opening of the Ducie Bridge, over the Irk from Miller Street to Strangeways, although it remained subject to toll for sixteen years.

Manchester is said to have had 10,000 silk weavers in 1815, and the next decade saw a great expansion of the silk industry here. The great majority of the silk weavers were recruited from the more skilled workers in the cotton trade, but there seems also to have been some transference of silk weavers from Macclesfield to Manchester.

Manufacturers opposed the Corn Laws because they believed that the increased price of food, by raising wages, would increase the price of manufactured goods and render more difficult competition with foreign countries. A requisition was made to the Boroughreeve and Constables and, as a result, a public meeting was held in the Exchange dining-room on

February 27, 1815. Six resolutions were passed, and they are printed by Prentice, though nothing seems to have come of them. He also prints "Plain Observations on the Corn Law," which, it seems strange to read, appeared in Cowdroy's *Gazette* as an advertisement. They were probably drawn up by John Shuttleworth, a rising young man, who was not satisfied with the previous resolutions. A meeting, convened by the Borough-reeve and Constables on October 27, to protest against the Corn Laws, passed its resolution without interference.

Scavenging of the town was becoming such a problem that separate Commissioners were appointed for the purpose but their efforts do not appear to have been any more successful than those of the private contractors. Critics of the Commissioners were reminded by the *Manchester Herald* that the £30 qualification would admit many of them to a share of responsibility and that the present ones would "feel considerably relieved by the assistance and support of an additional number." But the Radicals still held aloof.

Imagining his visit to take place in 1815, the author of *Letters from Scotland*, Archibald Prentice says: "Manchester has the least pretension to beauty. The principal street is scarcely broad enough to allow one carriage safely to pass another and the new streets generally have in their vicinity large cotton factories the high chimneys of which pour forth perpetually volumes of blackening smoke." He condemns the one o'clock dinner break, which he maintains, causes one to be employed three hours later in the evening, and reports a defence of the factory system by one of the owners. As to the health of those employed in cotton factories, the supposition that they are more liable to disease than other mechanics is erroneous.

Their countenances do not indeed exhibit the ruddiness of farm servants, but they are not necessarily unhealthy. The cotton spinner who works fourteen hours a day in a dry and roomy apartment, in which he is continually moving about, is really less exhausted by his labour than the sedentary weaver who works twelve hours a day in a cellar where there is no free circulation of air, and which the nature of his employment requires to be kept constantly damp.

When Alexander Wilson painted this picture of the Rush Bearing Festivities he chose Long Millgate as the scene, the cart being shown when passing the Manchester Arms.



RUSHBEARING IN LONG MILLGATE, OPPOSITE THE MANCHESTER ARMS

"In the procession, which accompanied the Rushcart, first came the Old Fool grotesquely attired, with a broom in his hand with which he cleared a passage for the pageant. Next came the Chapel Garland, borne by men proud of their office, and in all the finery they could procure. Then came a band playing suitable tunes, with the dancers decorated with silk ribbons of the gayest colours and rustic finery. After them the Rushcart, drawn by four picked horses, with garlands attached to their bridles." (Crofton).

"The canvas is studded with characteristic figures, inclusive of the artist himself; (carrying a paper bearing the words: 'A. Wilson. PINXT. 1821'); his bandaged foot requiring temporary crutches, the Rev. Joshua Brookes, and Gentleman Cooper, the tall enthusiastic pedestrian, who walked to Doncaster and home again during forty successive years, for the pleasure of witnessing the race for the St. Leger stakes. In addition, there is Mr. John Ogden, the grocer, vignettted through his shop window; and a full-length portly boniface in the centre, Mr. Henry Slater of the Bay Horse Tavern." (Procter).

"A group of Morris dancers are giving an exhibition of their skill in front of the inn, from the windows of which some excited individuals are shouting. The whole picture is of very great interest as depicting a scene in the town that will never be repeated." (Swindells).

"While the Morris-dancers are performing their Saltatory feats, pick-pockets are busy, women are fighting, pigs running and throwing the unwary down, and other hideous scenes of fun and street mischief." (Harland).



## 29. *Peace without Plenty*

1816-1819

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WITH the return of peace came the hope of better times. But the fictitious prosperity of wartime ended, and the period from 1816 to 1830 proved one of deep depression. Taxation was crushing since the interest on the huge war debt had to be paid, and Manchester presented a petition to the House of Commons on March 12, 1816, against the Property Tax. Although it is true that Pitt imposed the Income Tax as a war emergency measure, its selfish withdrawal led to a great increase of indirect taxation. Conditions were made worse by the imposition of a tax on corn, which could not be imported at all until the price was 80s. a quarter. This made the price of bread about 1s. the 2 lb. loaf, at a time when the usual wages of a labourer were 7s. a week. As a result, for the next twenty years, the main subsistence of the working classes was meal, potatoes and turnips. Bread became a luxury.

The market place was enlarged by the removal of Nathan Crompton's Folly, the cross and the pillory and stocks.

Dr. Spiker, librarian to the King of Prussia, visited the town in 1816. "The new part of Manchester, which we entered from the south, is very agreeable and appears to contain the dwelling houses of the proprietors of the manufacturies, which are themselves situated in the old part of the town." After mentioning the busy scene in Market Street he describes the Exchange. "This building is in the form of an ancient theatre. The round part of it facing Market Street contains a semi-circular reading room, which receives its light from a glass cupola above, and is of considerable height. At its numerous windows are placed long tables with benches at each side, covered with English and foreign journals and newspapers."

He gives an account of the New Bailey prison with its male inmates employed in weaving, who did not seem to fare very

badly. "The prisoners are allowed beef and potatoes three times a week; the other three days oatmeal soup, and on the Seventh they have stewed mutton. Each person receives ten ounces of meat, two pounds twelve ounces of bread, in three portions, and one pound of potatoes." But he is most impressed by the elementary school.

"No person who visits Manchester should quit without seeing the Free School established on the Lancasterian plan. It is situated in Marshall Street, and is a considerable building, although only of one storey. It consists of a single room, about 200 feet long, between 30 and 40 feet wide, and 20 in height, the roof of which is unsupported by any pillar. The supports of the desks and benches were of cast iron, and the slates move in slides. Every thing belonging to the furniture is very neat nay even elegant, and executed on a large scale. Each class consists of 4 numbered benches, on each 14 children of whom two, one at each end were monitors."

At this time, the district was practically under military occupation. The governing classes, still obsessed by the fears engendered by the French Revolution, were hostile to the poor. It is only from Home Office Papers of the period that we can learn how mercilessly the ruling authorities made war on the general body of Lancashire working people. The magistrates were able to lock up men and women under the Vagrancy Acts, and they used this power freely. The Combination Acts made it difficult for a working man to try to improve his position without risking prosecution. By using the Combination Act against workmen and allowing employers to combine openly whenever they liked, the magistrates were able to put the great mass of the workpeople entirely under the power of their masters.

A few leading manufacturers were in favour of reform, including a minimum wage for weavers and a reduction of children's hours in the mill. Some of these proposals were supported by individual magistrates. But the ministers of the day were hostile. Within the limits of their policy, the social problems created by the Industrial Revolution were insoluble. On the other hand, the changes in Lancashire had been so great and so rapid that they were incomprehensible to the members of the Government. Not until Peel became Home Secretary was there any possibility of the special problems of the County and of Manchester in particular, being understood.

Everybody would have agreed that the government of the country ought to be carried on for the people, i.e. in their interest, but, that it should be carried on by the people was a new idea. Those who advocated this democratic form of government were called Radicals, because their object was a radical alteration in the distribution of political power. This political doctrine became prominent during the year after Waterloo. The Radicals carried on their propaganda by meetings, pamphlets and the formation of clubs.

On November 4, 1816, with John Knight in the chair, about 5,000 people assembled to "take into consideration the present distressed state of the country." This first reform meeting in St. Peter's Fields caused considerable alarm to the authorities and in the next January a meeting of the inhabitants was held to consider "the necessity of adopting additional measures for the maintenance of peace." Two thousand of the principal inhabitants signed a declaration in its favour.

At the end of the month another meeting of the reformers was held in St. Peter's Fields. These continued meetings for reform and the general discontent which was extreme, were played upon by agitators and spies and led to the plan of sending representatives to London to present a petition in person. On March 10, several hundred men, after meeting on the same site, set out to march to London, each with a blanket or rug strapped to his shoulders. This "March of the Blanketeers" evolved from the idea of discontented workers that Parliament would pay more attention to their personal plans than to petitions and it hardly deserved the notoriety it achieved. Some were captured on the spot, more at Macclesfield, others at Leek and a few at Derby, and they were ultimately discharged without trial.

The Manchester authorities announced that they had received information of "a most daring and traitorous conspiracy the subject of which is nothing less than open Insurrection and Rebellion." This hysterical outburst led to the formation of the "Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry," a volunteer force of which more was heard two years later.

On March 3, 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Some of the leading reformers drew up a petition against the repeal of the act and this was presented in the House of Commons by George Philips. The petition is printed by Prentice. A

number of other petitions were sent up by private individuals. At the end of the same month, about a dozen persons were taken into custody at Ardwick and, to everyone's astonishment, were sent to London for trial. Among the persons also taken into custody while the act was suspended, was Samuel Bamford, the weaver poet. Heavily ironed by the legs, he and several others were sent off to London. All the prisoners were dismissed ultimately, untried. So ended the great plot.

A series of cheap pamphlets was issued to impress working-class readers with the consolations of poverty and the perfection of existing institutions. In one of these: "A Dialogue between Thomas the Weaver, and his Old Master," Thomas was reminded that distress was the work of Providence, and the reformers were not interested in whether people worked or starved, but only that they should be persuaded to murder and riot. Thomas was convinced by his master's words and promised that hereafter the money he spent on ale and political papers would go to fill his children's bellies. Another pamphlet, purporting to have been written by a schoolmaster, informed them that it was a falsehood to declare that Manchester and other great towns were not represented in Parliament. They were assured that "every member of Parliament is a Representative of the people at large, and the members of Newton, near Warrington, where there be only 20 electors, as much represent me as the members of Lancashire where there may be 20,000 electors."

At the end of April 1817, a meeting of rate-payers resolved "That it will be expedient to adopt the proposed mode of lighting the central part of the town with gas, and for the purpose of this object to raise the Police Rate from 15*d.* to 18*d.* in the £." Without further delay the Commissioners bought a plot of land, near the town's yard in Water Street (now Albert Street), where gas-works were erected before the end of the year. Stools were provided for the use of the retort men when they were not charging or drawing the retort. A farmer supplied the cannell (used for making gas) with four one-horse carts, making one journey a day with two to four loads. This enterprise was a commercial success from the beginning and over a period of years provided considerable sums for town improvements.

The Manchester Chess Club, formed in this year, never had premises of its own but moved from one Café to another. The



club's difficulty is that it has to be open all day in a place where the one hundred and twenty members can get meals when they drop in for a game. A small but valuable collection of books on chess is possessed by the club and it has equipment for thirty matches.

Manchester rejoiced with the rest of the country when the coinage was renovated in 1817. It had become almost impossible to obtain silver in return for gold and, even if obtained, it was clipped and defaced and often of the two previous reigns. Even the copper coinage was in so debased a condition that private traders' "tokens", that were more readily received locally, were issued. The sovereign now became the leading coin of the country and the bright new coins, with their clear inscriptions, were enthusiastically received by traders and private individuals alike. In this year also, the earliest Building Society was established at a public house in Ancoats. Many years later their meetings continued to be held in such places and the landlord was still the secretary and treasurer.

Robert Blincoe began business of his own account as a cotton waste dealer and chapman in a small way at Bank Top. The sufferings of this parish apprentice, sent all the way from the workhouse at St. Pancras, London, at the age of seven years, and the horrors he endured in cotton mills during his boyhood and youth, make appalling reading.

The Manchester and Salford Savings Bank was established on January 31, 1818. £283 6s. 1d. was subscribed in sums of £1 and £2 each in order to commence the Bank. Interest allowed was 4 per cent and individual deposits were limited to £100. The office was at 11, Marsden Square.

A peaceful Reform Meeting was held in St. Peter's Field on March 9, 1818. James Murray, a confectioner of 2, Withy Grove, obtained notoriety as a Government spy. He went to the meeting disguised as a weaver; but was recognised by the reformers; was beaten up by some of the crowd and had to be taken home in a vehicle. So unpopular did he become, that his business gradually faded out. There was a turn-out (i.e. strike) of spinners, colliers and weavers for increased wages in September. At the end of the year, owing to a great increase in scholars, the Sunday School, which still continues in Bennett Street, Oldham Road, was built. David Stott was for many years the great controlling force in connection with this school.

Few schools can point to such a magnificent record as that rendered in later years by George Milner.

Manchester, as a non-incorporated town ranked as a mere village in the eyes of the Law, and as such, was subject to the jurisdiction of the County Magistrates. It was their responsibility "to read the Riot Act to disorderly meetings; to order angry mobs to disperse within the hour; to enrol special constables; to call on the local regular forces; to issue warrants for the arrest of local offenders; and to take all necessary steps for the maintenance of order; the suppression of disturbances; and the detection of offenders. The military, the militia, the constables would none of them act except at their request." (Darvall.)

For many years, the chairman of the magistrates had been the Reverend W. R. Hay, who was opposed to any change in the existing order. His disposition was to believe the situation worse than it was and to arrest on suspicion even where the evidence was far from sufficient. He had built up an elaborate spy system and took their evidence at face value, without realizing their temptation to report what they were expected to report or to detail information true or false, for which they would be paid best. Very frequently these spies acted as instigators of the disorder so that they might have something to report. This spy system is not quite so sinister as it sounds to our ears.

In the absence of any organized system of police, lacking the most rudimentary detection staff, the only way in which the authorities could discover what was going on was by the employment of informers or by the confession of accomplices. Not merely was it by such means that arrests and convictions were possible after offences had been committed, but it was upon such expedients that the Government depended that it might be forewarned as to impending trouble. (Darvall.)

Hay's colleague, the Reverend W. C. Ethelston, who inaudibly read the Riot Act at Peterloo, also employed spies, as did the Manorial Boroughreeve and Constables. They were alarmed by the frequency of the reform meetings; at the large numbers who assembled; and by the oftentimes violent language that their agents repeated. Even the precautions which the Radicals took to prevent disorder, drilling their followers to move in an orderly manner, were taken as evidence that they

were planning revolution owing to the exaggerated accounts of the informers. Neither the magistrates, nor the government which supported their action, realized that this growing demand for reform was entirely different from the violent outbreaks of seven years earlier.

The brutal and blustering Deputy Constable, Joseph Nadin, may have persuaded the magistrates that the arrest of the ring-leader, in the face of so large a gathering might have a salutary effect. Certainly it was his contention that he was unable to serve the warrant, that led to the sending of the yeomanry to his support.

Nor were the Radical leaders entirely free from blame. They appear to have made no attempt to assure the authorities that they were opposed to violence and Henry Hunt had been unnecessarily provocative on his arrival in Manchester. None of the apologists of Peterloo, seem to have considered that the completion of Hunt's inflammatory and provocative harangue might have led the more unruly elements to inflict untold damage and suffering on the rest of the community.

George Swift's *Memories*, written in the New Bailey prison, have just come to light. Writing an account of these, Donald Read says:

The Peterloo meeting and the Radical campaign which preceded it were primarily the outcome of the intense economic distress which prevailed in 1819 among the Lancashire cotton operatives. Ever since the end of the Napoleonic wars four years before, they had suffered almost continuously from extensive unemployment, low wages, and high prices, a fact not disputed by contemporaries whatever their politics. On the existence of their burdens, wrote Swift, "all agree, but vary in the mode of removing them."

The Tories and Pittites of Manchester, including the magistrates chiefly responsible for the massacre, advocated passive acceptance by the operatives of their God-given lot until the tide of economic events should turn. The more liberal middle-class Radical group, prominent among them J. E. Taylor, later the founder of the *Manchester Guardian*, advocated large-scale emigration as an immediate remedy and restrained, but extensive reform, as a long-term remedy.

And the working class Radicals, the callers of the Peterloo

meeting, advocated full Radical reform, including in particular universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. Only through such sweeping changes, they argued, could the economic condition of the operatives be improved. The aristocracy had engrossed all political power for its own selfish advantage and, as Swift put it, were willing to sacrifice the interest, the liberty and life of nine-tenths of the community to support in the vilest profligacy the other one-tenth. From this last remark it will be apparent that Swift was a decided Radical sympathiser, even if not quite a Radical leader.

On January 18, 1819, Henry Hunt visited Manchester and made a provocative speech. On June 21, the weavers called a meeting in St. Peter's Field to arrange for emigration to America. This was taken over by Radicals who dissuaded them from emigration and urged political action. Pledges were also taken to abstain from ale and spirits and other excisable articles. For the other side a placard appeared on the walls denouncing as enemies of the working people all those who renounced the good old English drinks. Much outcry was caused when it was discovered that £80 of the church rates had been spent in printing this incentive to drunkenness. At the same time a "Female Reform Association" was founded whose members became as zealous as the men.

During July and August many of the Reformers began drilling so that bodies of men might learn to move in an orderly manner to a further meeting and also, as Samuel Bamford said, as healthful exercise and enjoyment for sedentary weavers and spinners. No arms were carried and all these meetings were carried out peaceably and openly.

But the exaggerated reports of spies alarmed the authorities and, on July 9, a public meeting of townsmen with the Boroughreeve in the chair, expressed their "determination to co-operate in the preservation of public peace" and 2,400 residents signed the declaration. A reform meeting arranged for August 9 in St. Peter's Field was prohibited by the authorities and the Reformers cancelled it. Hunt, the intended chairman, again made a public entry into the town and two days later, issued a violent manifesto.

Next, the Reformers presented to the Boroughreeve a formal petition signed by over a thousand persons, requesting a public meeting to consider the reform of Parliament. The authorities





had no power to prohibit a meeting for such a lawful purpose; they failed to reply, and silence was taken as consent.

On the morning of August 16, 1819, soon after 9 a.m. the open space of St. Peter's Field began to fill with processions of Reformers carrying banners and flags, from all parts of the town and the surrounding districts. Many women and children, dressed in their best, accompanied them and soon there were about 60,000 persons present. A platform had been erected on the site where the south-east corner of the Free Trade Hall now stands.

At 11 a.m. the magistrates assembled at a house in Mount Street. A double row of 300 special constables formed a lane between this house and the platform so the magistrates could easily have gone to the front of the meeting had they wished.

One troop of the Manchester Yeomanry was concealed off Portland Street; another troop of the same, with the 15th Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry were in or near St. John's Street; another troop of Hussars with a detachment of Royal Horse Artillery, with two six-pounders cannon, were in Lower Mosley Street. The 31st Infantry were in Brazennose Street and some companies of the 88th were in Dickinson Street. So the town was well protected in case of disorder.

At last, the magistrates, after a long period of panic and indecision, made up their minds. Thirty persons were found willing to sign a paper that they considered the meeting a danger to the town and this was used as a pretext to order the arrest of the speakers.

The warrant was handed to Nadin, the Deputy Constable, who declared that the special constables were not a sufficient force to enable him to execute it. The fatal mistake was made of sending for the Manchester Yeomanry, about forty hot-headed young men who had volunteered because of their intense hatred of Radicalism. As the crowd hushed to silence to hear the opening of Hunt's speech, the Yeomanry came into view and halted in great disorder as many of them had not proper control of their horses. The crowd gave a cheer which Bamford says was a shout of goodwill, but which his opponents say was a shout of defiance.

Suddenly the troopers drew their swords, dashed into the crowd, and recklessly attacked. They were soon completely hemmed in by the mass of human beings against whom they

had thrown themselves. At this moment the 15th Hussars and Cheshire Yeomanry rode up and were ordered to disperse the meeting.

In about ten minutes the space was empty save for human beings lying in heaps, sabred, crushed, and trampled. The rest of the multitude, many of them wounded, were fleeing down



PETERLOO

the roads along which they had come in such high hopes. Eleven persons were killed and nearly 600 were wounded. What the sufferings were of this later mass, most of whom were afraid to apply for medical treatment, will never be known.

During the progress of this frightful tragedy, Hunt and his companions were quietly taken into custody by the civil authority. Reports sent to London papers roused a feeling of indignation throughout the country. The Radical leaders were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. But Manchester had given a lead to the country which culminated in the Reform Act of 1832.

Magistrates in Manchester hastily held a meeting at the Star Inn where they passed resolutions thanking the magistrates and

the soldiers. A declaration and protest against these resolutions was immediately drawn up and within a few days was signed by 4,800 persons.

When Lord Sidmouth conveyed the thanks of the Regent to the magistrates and the military for their "prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of public peace", indignation was greatly increased. Sir Francis Burdett presided over a large meeting in Westminster where a resolution was passed calling on the Regent to order the prosecution of the magistrates concerned.

Similar meetings were held in many other towns, but all attempts to bring the magistrates to account, failed. Later Sir Francis Burdett was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of £2,000 for his manifesto to the electors of Westminster. Soon the prosperity of the cotton industry and the comparative well-being of most of the working classes led to the subsidence of the popular radical movement.

To the events of 1819, Manchester people owe the giving of regular and full reports in their local newspapers of all important public meetings and law proceedings. Previously subjects of great local importance were dismissed in a few lines.



## 30. *The Second Town Planning*

1820-1821

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THE period 1819–21 saw much distress in the manufacturing towns and this led to the forcible removal of many poor people to their parish of origin. As a result, Manchester rates were less than in any agricultural parish of England. “The poor who had enriched the town of Manchester by their labour, were sent away to burden agricultural parishes that had derived no benefit from them.” (Cobbett)

Many of the country parishes, however, preferred to give temporary relief to their absent poor in the hope that a revival of trade would once more make them independent, rather than have them sent home under removal orders.

The long war had impoverishd the country, depressed industries, crippled foreign trade, and absorbed Ministers and Parliament so completely that legislative and administrative reform received no attention. Meanwhile, as the population had outgrown home agriculture and manufacturers had outstripped the home market, exchange of these for the superabundant food products from abroad became imperative. Cotton manufacture was rapidly becoming the most important industry, second only to agriculture. In 1820, the Chamber of Commerce was established to protect the trading interests of its members and to promote the general welfare of the trade of the town. Its policy was completely at variance with the protectionist policy of the former Manchester Commercial Society, of which it was the heir. Its first step, support of a petition to the House of Commons, marks its initial adherence to Free Trade. For the next forty years the Manchester School dominated local commercial life. Complete freedom of trade between Great Britain and Ireland was largely due to the Chamber of Commerce. There were two Manchester manufacturers in the House of Commons and both, on a few occasions, spoke for the town and its indus-

ries. But it was rare, if at all, that such institutions as the Chamber of Commerce begged their aid in local matters.

Increasing population and traffic between the sister towns demanded the provision of a new bridge across the Irwell. Although an Act giving the necessary powers was obtained in 1817, it was not until two years later that £2,000, in shares of £50 each, was raised for the purpose. Blackfriars stone-built bridge was opened on August 12, 1820 by Thomas Fleming. Not only was a toll levied on all vehicles using the bridge but a halfpenny was levied also on each pedestrian. As the old wooden bridge had been free the public resented their loss of right of way and as much as possible avoided crossing the new bridge. During the "hungry forties", Dr. Fleming, the son of the promoter, told the bar-keeper to remain in bed and not to "see" any workmen who passed before 7 a.m. In 1847, the sum of £5,000 was raised by public subscription and on May 11, next year the bridge was freed from toll and the former free right of way restored.

But the most momentous event of the year 1821 was the securing of an Act to improve Market Street and other streets in the town. Seventy-two Commissioners, empowered to levy a Rate of not more than eightpence in the £, met under the chairmanship of Thomas Fleming. It was through his enterprise, and only by taking considerable responsibility upon himself that the Market Street Bill was originated and, in carrying it through and superintending the working of it, he undoubtedly had the principal share.

Before the widening, Market Street was a narrow, crooked, steeply-rising lane, with a footpath little more than 18 inches wide, only slightly raised above the level of the cobbled roadway. In places it was so narrow that only one cart could pass at a time, and, as late as June in this year a young man was crushed by a carrier's cart, which encroached upon the footpath instead of waiting for the vehicle going down to stop.

Nor was the building line uniform on either side of the street but the direction was tortuous. At the lower end, where it joined the Market Place, the lane was only five yards wide from building to building, with a footpath on each side less than two feet. At Pool Fold the width was about nine yards, but it soon narrowed again to five yards. At Cromford Court, where there was a bend to the right it widened again. At Brown

Street the lane was fourteen yards wide and the width gradually increased until at Marsden Square it was twenty-one yards wide.

Besides the widening, the gradient of the street was altered. It used to be steeper uphill between the Exchange and Brown Street, and downhill again to High Street than it is now. The lower end was raised and the middle lowered making the slope uniform and more gradual. Some idea of the change in street level is shown in that, near Ducie Place, the shop floors were six inches above street level, whereas afterwards they were eight inches below it. One side of the roadway was altered at a time and the cutting opposite the Swan Inn, where New Brown Street is now, was seven or eight inches deep.

It is very fortunate that we have pictures of the main street of the old town, just before it was widened. Both Ralston's and James's Views are republished in one volume, with an introduction by Croston. Owing to the haphazard way in which these are arranged, it is somewhat difficult to visualise the street as a whole.

In the Act itself is a plan of Market Street on which are marked the various landowners and schedule A repeats these with a list of the tenants. Using this with Pigot and Deans *Directory* for the period it is possible to compile a complete list of shopkeepers and the trades they followed. Commencing at the Market Place on the north or left hand side, the buildings were numbered consecutively from 1 to 61, which last was at the corner of Stable Street, now Tib Street. Crossing to the south side, the numbers continue downwards from 62 to 110 at Ducie Place.

The change to alternate numbering was not made until 1829. Rowbotham prepared an elevation of the buildings on the south side and this is published in Swindell's *Manchester Streets and Men*. It is a pity he did not continue his sketches up to Spring Gardens and leave out the lower portion which is really in the Market Place. If one covers up Rowbotham's elevation from the "site of the second Exchange" to the right hand side, it is fairly easy to fit Ralston's Views to it in correct order.

View No. 2 shows the Market Place, with Fawcitt's silver-smiths on the north or left hand side. Fawcitt's principal window which faced into the Market Place, contained no



MARKET PLACE (Ralston 2), WITH BOTTOM OF MARKET STREET



fewer than 80 small panes of glass. The entrance to the shop was at the corner, up two steps, the door being the usual small size. Next to it was the Post Office and printing business of James Harrop, who continued the publication of the *Manchester Mercury*, established by his father. On the south side is shown the rounded end of the second Exchange and beyond Ducie Place, the shop of John Shaw, saddler, No. 110. Ralston's View 23, which is a reprint of James View No. 11, gives an



BOTTOM OF MARKET STREET (Ralston 23)



LOWER END OF MARKET STREET (Ralston 3) LOOKING DOWN

enlarged picture of the end of this saddler's shop, and shows clearly the flagged end of Ducie Place. The narrow winding nature of the uphill street, with its irregular building line is also clearly seen. On the north side is the name Market Street and the name of Thomas Conway gun maker, is shown above the shop No. 3.

No. 109 was tenanted by James Holden, grocer. The next pair of shops, a fine pair of black and white buildings with over-hanging gables, are best seen on Ralston's View No. 4, remembering that we are this time looking down the street towards the Exchange. They were known as Fothergills buildings and a more full-faced view of them is given as No. 5, in the publication *Ancient Edifices in Manchester*, one of a series of roughly finished wood carvings by John Fothergill, published in Harrop's newspaper. When they were demolished William Yates purchased the materials and used them to build Knolls House, Broughton, then a delightful country district. The house still stands but in very different surroundings.

Ralston's View No. 3 also shows very clearly Newall's grocer's shop which by a strange error is numbered 125 instead of the correct number 105. When the portion for street widening had been taken, Newall rebuilt his shop and over it made a large room suitable for public meetings. In later years this was the early home of the Anti-Corn Law League.



ENTRANCE TO CROSS STREET (Ralston 51)





CONTINUATION OF MARKET STREET (Ralston 54)

The entrance to Pool Fold, later Cross Street, was through a passage over which was a bedroom. This belonged to the Packhorse Inn, landlord John Frost, and is shown in Ralston's View No. 51. View 54 shows the continuation of the Packhorse and adjoining it the premises of John Hayes, Hat Maker, No. 101; and that of Thomas Golland, grocer and tallow chandler. No. 100 has been demolished to make New Market Place and the debris are seen on View No. 11. This View shows the State Lottery Office, carried on by Joseph Merone, carver, gilder and picture frame maker at No. 98. Next is the Red Lion, kept by Nancy Knight and in the more modern building adjoining were the premises of Zanetti and Agnew, the latter of whom became a well known art dealer and publisher of engravings.

Next door but one higher up, from Zanetti's was the shop kept by Miss Mary Walker, ironmonger. Later, part of this was demolished to make Pall Mall, leaving its narrow frontage to Market Street, as it remains today. The business was carried on by Nesbitt's until 1960, the first of whom was an employee





HYDE'S SHOP (Ralston 56)



STATE LOTTERY OFFICE (Ralston 11)

of Mary Walker. This shop is shown most clearly on Ralston's View No. 56, and also No. 6.

Adjoining is the most picturesque view in the whole street, the shop occupied by William Hyde, provision dealer. "As a specimen of the domestic architecture of the late Tudor period, the timber work of which was arranged most elaborately in curious diaper and foliated patterns, it was superior to anything that has survived to our day. Its over-hanging gables and long windows, filled with small panes of glass, were in striking contrast with the buildings occupying the site today." (Swin-dells). It is interesting to note that the Court Leet Records, October 20th, 1820, note the operation of a private gas plant. "William Hyde grocer on the first day of May was and from thence hitherto hath been and still is possessed of a certain erection and building in or near Market Street wherein he made or caused and procured to be made great quantities of gas."

Evidently when his Market Place premises were demolished James Harrop moved into rooms over, or behind this shop with an entrance at 91, as shown in Ralston's view, No. 56.

Ralston's View No. 7 looking down the street, shows the buildings above Hyde's shop. This shows the winding nature



LOOKING DOWN MARKET STREET (Ralston 7)

of the street and its steep slope at this part. Here was the iron merchant's business of Thomas Sharp which in course of time changed to that of engineers, and developed into that of Sharp Roberts and Company, whose engines earned an international reputation. On the opposite side, the corner of New Cannon Street shown on View 55, was occupied by William Clark, manufacturer of cutlery. In part of this building number 29, Jeremiah Garnett printed the first number of the *Manchester Guardian* on May 5, 1821. The office was afterwards moved to the opposite side of the street but not to the site erroneously depicted by Haslam Mills.

Now comes a gap until we cross Brown Street. Ralston's View No. 12 shows Beaumont's Eating House and the shop of John Bennett, glass and china dealer, who was also the inventor of a portable filter, of which there is an illustration in Butterworth's *Manchester*. An enlarged view of these two premises is given in Ralston's View No. 50, which shows the narrow winding Brown Street of that day with its pavements on one side only and the sloping stones to keep the wheels of vehicles off the fronts of the houses opposite. (Illustration p.158.)

The north side of Market Street has not been so well illustrated but Swindell's gives an account of some of the tenants and more can be learned from Pigot and Dean's contemporary Directories.

Work was actually begun on June 22, 1821, and the total cost up to 1834 was £232,925 of which £116,491 7s. 5d. was paid for land, buildings and compensations to tenants.

As the rate levied was insufficient, the Market Street Commissioners were always in debt. In 1828 the Gas Commissioners took over the completion of the work and the debts, off which they paid £7,000 in 1841, out of gas profits. Even after this the Highway Rates were still burdened with a debt of £64,500 and a yearly interest charged of £2,867 10s. 0d. Not until March 15, 1848 was the debt finally liquidated. The map in Pigot and Dean's *Directory*, 1821-22, shows Market Street before the widening, while that of 1824 shows the street after the completion of New Market Lane.

The alteration was enthusiastically approved, both in regard to the new street and also the new buildings.

Now instead of confusion, we do not observe any impediment whatever to carriages of any description; and passengers are now



provided with flagged footpaths where they are placed in security far from danger. Its widening has rendered to the town the most important service that could have been accomplished. Thus, in a very short period has a general evil been removed; and on part of its site been established piles of beautiful and stately buildings which in point of beauty and utility do not rank second to any in the Metropolis; or the United Kingdom. (Leech and Cheetham, *Concise Description*, p. 196).

Other improvements under the same act were the continuation of King Street to Deansgate by removing a carrier's yard and stables that stood across the bottom of it. Toll Lane, where the agents of the Lord of the Manor collected tolls from those coming to Acres Fair, was widened to form St. Ann's Street in 1831. Toad Lane, described as "one of the filthiest suburbs of the town and so confined that the winds of heaven scarcely penetrated it," was replaced by Todd Street. Pool Fold and Nicholas Croft were also widened.

Broxap, in his introduction to James's Views, gives this description of the town at the time :

Maps in the Directories of the period show that north of the junction of the Irk and the Irwell was still mostly open ground. Great Ducie Street only extended to New Bridge Street on the west side; and on the other to Nightingale Street or Frances Street, with only scattered buildings beyond and Strangeways Hall stood amidst trees on the site of the present Assize Courts. . . . Further to the east Rogers Street off Red Bank, was the limit of the town, and Oldham Street, now one of the dingiest exits from Manchester, was built upon both sides only to Foundry Street. Butler Street and Lloyd Street were just beginning and further on Elm Street and Sycamore Street suggest a suburban district. Between Oldham Road and Rochdale Road the ground was open and St George's Church stood by itself. Bradford Road was marked but not built. Mill Street then called Hallsworth Street, at the top and only occasional houses.

Great Ancoats Street was only built as far as Port Street, and Union Street, and Ancoats Hall stood alone at the end. Ardwick Green and Higher Ardwick, were the limits of the town on the south-eastern side. Out of Ardwick Green to the east was marked a new road to Sheffield, now Hyde Road. Chorlton Row (Chorlton-on-Medlock) was then a pleasant suburb and the upper end of Oxford Road was described as an excellent entrance into the town, and compared with the Surrey Road into London. Booth Street was the limit of continuous building in this direction, and from All Saints Church westwards the ground was open as far as the short streets leading out of Chester Road, then only built up as far as Cornbrook on the east side while on the other side there



were no buildings further from town than Knott Mill. . . . King Street had only recently been cut through to Deansgate and there was no King Street West. Princess Street began where it does now, but further on its name changed to Bond Street, and then to David Street before Brook Street was reached. Piccadilly was a broad space, as it is now, and was called the most pleasant situation in the town. In front of the infirmary was a long pond, surrounded by iron railings. Mosley Street was the most fashionable residential street; and, if it had been a few yards wider, would have been one of the best streets in the North of England. The Piccadilly end of Tib Street was called Stable Street, probably because it ran along the back of the Bridgewater Arms Hotel, which was the principal coaching house. Cross Street, which began at Lloyd Street, at the corner of what is now Pool Street, changed to Redcross Street and then to Cross Street, but it did not go through to Market Street. . . . Deansgate was narrow and had no outlet to the North. It curved round to meet the junction of Smithy Door and Cateaton Street so that carriages for Cheetham Hill or Bury had to go round by Cateaton Street, Hanging Ditch, and Toad Lane (Todd Street) into Long Millgate. The road over Scotland Bridge and up Red Bank is still marked to Rochdale and Bury.

St. Augustine's, Granby Row, was consecrated on September 27, 1820. It cost £10,000 and James' View No. 4 is a sketch of it. About eighty years afterwards, operations in the neighbouring School of Technology caused so much vibration that litigation was threatened. Manchester Corporation obtained authority to purchase the premises for £39,000, and the closing services were held on September 20, 1908. The site is now beneath the extensions to the College.

On May 5, 1821, the *Manchester Guardian* was first published as a weekly paper. It had four pages and was issued on Saturdays at a price of 7d., of which 4d. was tax. The first number contained 47 advertisements. Jeremiah Garnett combined the three functions of printer, business manager and reporter. When the paper was printed, on Friday, it was he who took off his jacket and turned the handle of the press, the output of which was 150 copies an hour.

From the first, the Leading Article was a feature of the *Manchester Guardian*; a new entertainment and a new force in the politics and journalism of the town. The other art by which the paper hoped to make its way was that of the reporter. No other paper in the town had its reporter. The *Guardian* introduced him and his functions into the life of Manchester. It introduced

him in the person of Jeremiah Garnett. . . . In addition to the stamp duty, there was an unseen but potent tax of 3s. 6d. on each advertisement and a duty of 3d. a lb. on paper, a severe drag on the possible commercial progress of the undertaking. (Mills.)

When a Town's Meeting assembled at the Police Office, on June 27, 1821 there was considerable opposition to plans for celebrating the Coronation of George IV. As Prince of Wales and Regent, his message of thanks to those who had dispersed the Peterloo meeting had caused much unpopularity. One of the victims proposed that the meeting should adjourn to St. Peter's Field, another that the Manchester Yeomanry should ride with their faces turned towards the horses' tails. After studying newspaper reports of festivities at the previous Coronation, it was decided that nothing so elaborate should be attempted.

Ringling of church bells and booming of cannon fired off at the Old Quay ushered in the day. Children of the day and Sunday schools marched from St. Ann's Square to Ardwick Green whence they returned to their respective schools for refreshments. A grand procession  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles long of the trades and military included the tailors, who took pride of place, the glass blowers and this time all branches of the cotton trade were represented. Oxen and sheep were roasted whole and at 5 p.m. the free distribution of bread and beer began. The *Manchester Guardian* gives a description of the shameful waste and general loathsome extravagance that disgraced the day. This was the first interference of that paper in local affairs.

The extensive immigration of poor Irish has inflicted a deadly blow upon the health and comfort of the working classes of Manchester. They congregate together, and form in the town a number of distinct communities, each of which is a nucleus for the generation and diffusion of fever and human miasma. They are improvident and dissolute in their habits, regardless alike of order, cleanliness and comfort, a circumstance which in some degrees accounts for the disgraceful and dirty condition of Little Ireland, for it is always observed that those quarters where the Irish congregate are the worst in this respect. The total number of Irish in Manchester is 34,304 and as there is but a very small proportion of Irish Protestants in the town, we shall not be far wrong in estimating the Irish Catholic population at about 30,000. . . . Forethought comfort, and economy are things they have little or no idea of; and they bear with resignation a large amount of

physical suffering, which a little prudence and energy would easily prevent. Their diet is of the lowest description and consists of potatoes, oatmeal, buttermilk, and sometimes bacon. Indolence of disposition and instability of character prevent them from aspiring to a higher standard of living, and their great numbers have produced a competition with the English labourer, which has taught him how to live upon a lower scale of diet, and of household comfort, that he was wont to do. (Culverwell.)

By May 28, 1821, the population of the township was 108,016; an increase of 28,557 in the last ten years. There were now 17,257 houses, of which 604 were uninhabited and 116 new ones were in course of building.

In October, the *Manchester Chronicle* reported that "Peace Cheerfulness and Industry had returned to the town." The prosperity of the cotton industry and the comparative well-being of the working classes coincided with the subsidence of the popular radical movement.

## 31. *The Police Commissioners IV*

1822-1830

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AFTER a brief introductory history, James Butterworth's volume, published in 1822, gives an outline of the manufacturers in the town, together with details of many of the processes involved. It concludes with a survey of the streets and buildings and an account of the shops and tradespeople at that time. He notes with satisfaction the heating of St. Ann's church with two stoves and the opening of Smithfield Market, but describes Market Street as "a very narrow, disagreeable street, continually crowded with carriages and passengers; so much so, that on market days, it is absolutely dangerous to travel through it." Smithfield Market, opened in 1822 was simply a square space paved with cobble stones. In wet weather it was about as filthy a place as was possible to find, uncomfortable both to buyer and seller.

Blood-letting being still one of the recognized practices, he notes grimly the presence of a female "cupper" in Oldham Street who possessed a vessel containing several hundred thousand leeches, "in a healthy state, and a convenience equal to their native element."

Dr. White's house which the Police Commissioners had bought seven years before, was pulled down in 1822. They began to build their new headquarters at the corner of King Street and Cross Street, where Lloyd's bank now stands. This became successively the Old Town Hall and then the Reference Library. Its pillars still stand near the lake in Heaton Park. In 1823, Acres Fair was removed from St. Ann's Square to the ground at the rear of St. Matthew's church. Liverpool Road, where it afterwards became known as Knott Mill Fair. Louis Hayes gives a vivid description of the scene as it was then.

Increasing trade is shown by the formation in November 1823, of the New Quay Company, with a capital of 300 shares





OLD TOWN HALL

of £100 each, to trade as carriers to and from Liverpool. The Company's wharf on the Irwell was between the Town's Yard at the end of Regent Road, and the Manchester and Liverpool Railway. In January 1866 notice of voluntary liquidation was published in the *London Gazette* and, two years later, the Corporation bought the land and buildings.

On October 1, 1823, at a meeting in the Exchange, it was decided to establish an institution for the promotion of literature, science and fine arts. £32,000 was subscribed and the Royal Institution, begun in 1825, was completed five years later. A balance in hand of £6,000 was spent on works of art. For nearly sixty years the governors tried to carry out the wishes of the founders but, in 1883, the building and its contents were transferred to the Corporation and became the Art Gallery.

J. S. Gregson, a Manchester bookseller, could have written decent English prose. Instead of this he elected to be a rhymster and published his doggerel under the pen-name of Geoffrey Gimcrack. His sketches of the social and the business life of the township of his time are more valuable than the rhymed



ROYAL INSTITUTION, NOW THE ART GALLERY

couplets in which they are written. He would not have agreed with Hulbert about the general thirst for knowledge, as he wrote an article on the "Want of Taste for Literature in Manchester."

A new departure was inaugurated by the Act for the Better Lighting of the Town. Parliament for the first time gave legislative sanction to "the principle that gas establishments might be created by public funds and be conducted by public bodies for the public benefit." This achievement laid the foundations upon which later Municipal Trading was based not only in Manchester but throughout the whole country.

Swire's map, engraved for the *History of Lancashire* by Edward Baines, outlines the fourteen districts into which the township was divided under the Police Commissioners' Act. Many places now covered with streets were at this time gardens, fields, or waste ground; and there were many vacant places of considerable area, in various parts of the township.

Hedley's projected canal from Manchester to the Dee was rejected by Parliament. There is a map illustrating this ambitious scheme in Harland's *Lancashire Scrapbook*. The capital proposed to be invested in this extraordinary enterprise

was to be one million pounds, in 10,000 shares of £100 each.

On April 17, at a public meeting held in the Bridgewater Arms, High Street, it was resolved that the Manchester Mechanics Institute should be formed. "The object of the institute is to instruct the working classes in the principles of the arts they practise, and in other branches of useful knowledge, excluding party politics and controversial theology. At the small expense of 5s. a quarter, the workmen may not only acquire a more thorough knowledge of his business and a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, but he will also be better qualified to advance himself in the world; better enabled to secure the means of support and enjoyment, and better qualified to promote the education of his children. The principal means in operation for the accomplishment of results so beneficial are lectures, evening classes, a library and reading rooms." Land was bought in Cooper Street, nearly opposite to that entrance of the present Town Hall; £7,000, the cost of the building, was raised by shares. The Institution, opened on March 30, 1825, proved such a great success that it was moved to a new building in David Street (now Princess Street) and reopened there on September 9, 1856, with a Mechanical Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition which realised £4,000 towards the building fund. It later became the Technical School and finally grew into the Municipal College of Technology.

1825-56 saw more distress than had occurred either during or after the Napoleonic wars. The years of prosperity led to over-production while depression in world trade left a large accumulation of stocks which had to be sold before manufacture could continue. In Manchester, by April 1826, over £8,000 which had been subscribed, was distributed to the needy in the town in the form of provisions. Soup shops were opened and 14,000 persons were assisted weekly with soup, meal, peas etc. Although the inhabitants contributed liberally to the fund, it was found quite inadequate to the calls made upon it. A meeting was held in London to procure further aid. George IV headed the list with £2,000, and many of the Ministry followed his example; the fund soon reached £60,000. Nearly £20,000 from local subscriptions and this auxiliary fund from London, were spent on provisions in Manchester. In addition thousands of articles of clothing were distributed from government stores.

To add to the difficulties, the year was one of prolonged

drought. Poor Rate which had been 2s. rose to 5s. in the £.

Unemployment led to violence in the County and there was some apprehension that it would spread to Manchester. On Thursday, May 27, there was a meeting of unemployed in St. George's Fields and, although efforts were made by Hodgins and Prentice to prevent violence, Beaver's factory in Jersey Street was burned down.

"Within ten years of Waterloo, the political beliefs of Manchester were entirely remodelled. Individualism, insistence on the necessity of peace, distrust of imperialism, and irritation with the constitutional defects of the time, were deeply impressed on men's minds. The best customers were foreign nations; and the great bulk of raw material (cotton) came from a country which had ceased to be subject to the British Crown. Employers believed that the one way by which their supremacy in three world markets could be maintained was to keep down the cost of production." (Hertz.) The Manchester Chamber of Commerce dispatched a petition in condemnation of the paper currency and in praise of gold, maintaining that the former advanced prices and encouraged business adventurers whereas the latter, while preventing fluctuations in prices and exchange rates, protected the earnings of the working classes. Charles Hulbert, himself a native, gives a description of Manchester trade in 1825 and records a thirst for knowledge and improvement by the whole population.

The spinning trade is becoming every year more and more extensive and considerable quantities of yarn are annually exported. The weaving is also carried on to a great extent and the invention of power looms, or looms worked by machinery, has extended considerably. But the erection and keeping up of this various and complicated machinery which is constantly at work is itself a source of very great business in and around Manchester.

This gives rise to great iron foundries, and other works of a similar kind, and to the invention even of new machines to facilitate its operations. Besides the weaving and spinning, the printing, dyeing and bleaching businesses are carried on to a very great extent in and around Manchester. The hat manufacture is also very extensive, as are several well-managed sulphuric acid, or oil or vitriol works, besides a great number of other manufactories. By means of the canals, which proceed from it to different parts of the country, Manchester enjoys a communication by water both with the eastern and western seas, being situated directly in the line of navigation which here extends



across the island from shore to shore, while it is equally open to the north and south by various branches from the main trunk.

Perhaps no town in the kingdom can boast a more rapid increase of inhabitants than Manchester, and few if any will be found to contain an equal number of patriotic and enlightened individuals. The whole population seems to be imbued with a general thirst for knowledge and improvement. The Editor of these volumes feels no inconsiderable degree of pride in being able to claim Manchester as the place of his nativity, though his first residence in it was confined to the short period of three months.

White of Savannah, an American who visited Manchester on business left the following severe opinions. "Of all the towns I ever was in Manchester has the least pretensions to beauty. Excluding the manufactories, few places are less interesting than Manchester; hence strangers are seldom pleased with it and their dislike is increased by the peculiar habits and manners of the people, which are not of that polished nature which is the general characteristic of the better class of Englishmen. The whole community seems to be absorbed in business. The citizens of Manchester, taking them collectively, are not very polished or very hospitable. They are in general uncourteous to strangers. Money seems to be their idol—the god they adore and in worshipping their deity they devote but a small portion of their time to those liberal pursuits which expand the mind."

Even in the midst of deep distress, the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Footpaths was formed in 1826, and it is pleasant to recall. "There were so many pleasant footpaths that a pedestrian might walk completely round the town in a circle, which would seldom exceed a radius of two miles from the Exchange and in which he would scarcely have occasion to encounter the noise, bustle and dust of a public cart road or paved street. The beautiful undulating country between the valley of the Irk and Cheetham Hill and the fine valley of the Irwell, with its verdant meadows were still open." (Prentice).

For a family of five persons, living near the Irk in 1826, the following annual expenses are given:—Rent, £33, Taxes £6 3s. 5d. Butcher, fishmonger and poulterer, £39 4s., Tea, coffee, butter, milk, eggs, sugar, cheese, £57 4s. 4d. (The customs duty on sugar, tea and groceries was high in this year). Flour, teacakes and yeast, £22 19s. 4d. Potatoes and rice, £5 19s.

Coal, candles and matches, £12 14s. 10d. Gardener's wages, and seed, £5 5s. Malt and hops, £1 12s. Wine, £5 5s. Repairs, £8 9s. 4d. Linen and curtains, £15 13s. 5d. Newspapers, £5 8s. 10d. Washing and cleaning, £20 18s. Total £239 16s. 6d. The family baked bread and brewed their ale at home, cultivated a garden and produced a good supply of flowers and vegetables for the household.

Leigh's *Road Book of England and Wales* contains the following entry:

Manchester in Lancaster is an immense manufacturing and mercantile town, crowded with warehouses, factories and shops, but interspersed with some handsome public buildings and surrounded by numerous elegant villas. It was celebrated two centuries ago, for its manufacture of woollen cloths, to which it has successfully added fustians, mixed stuff, hats, iron articles, tapes, laces, linen, silk and cotton, till at length the latter has taken the lead and Manchester has become the centre of the cotton trade, the emporium at which are collected all the products of the neighbouring towns and whence they are sent to London, Liverpool, Hull, and other places, for home as well as foreign consumption. Its commerce is greatly aided by the rivers Irwell and Mersey, the Bridgewater Canal and the Manchester and Ashton-under-Lyne Canal, the Bolton and Bury Canal, and the Rochdale Canal so that by means of these and the canals and rivers which they join it has water communications with almost every part of England.

In July 1826, Herr Schinkel, who had been sent by the King of Prussia to study English museums, visited the town.

Mr. Connell, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Morris have, for example, buildings seven and eight stories high. They are constructed completely fireproof, and a canal runs along one side and another within. The street of the town passes through these massive buildings, and above street level they are linked by connecting passageways. There are buildings of this sort all over Manchester; they are the spinning mills for the finest kind of cotton. . . . The whole factory industry of the town is just now undergoing a serious crisis. Six thousand Irish workers from the factories had been sent back to their own country through lack of work at the town's expense, and 12,000 workers assembled at a meeting to rebel for many are still only able to earn 2s. a week, although they work 16 hours a day. Installations which cost half a million are now only worth £5,000 sterling. This is a terrible state of affairs. Since the French War 400 new factories have been set up in Lancashire; one sees buildings where three years before there were still fields, but these buildings soon look so black that one

might take them as having already been a century in use. The immense edifices all built, as they are by one contractor, without any attempt at architectural beauty and carried out only to meet the barest necessities, in red brick alone, make on one a very weird impression. . . . A lot of English soldiers have now assembled in the town to keep order. Officers and privates are all fine men, and the horses on which they ride make an imposing show.

This German visitor saw Manchester in the midst of one of the worst trade depressions in its history. The factories of Connell and Kennedy were at that time the most extensive spinners in the country, employing over 15,000 persons at their mill in Ancoats. Morris was a mishearing of A. & G. Murray who brought a branch of the canal right into their mill yard in Murray Street, Ancoats. George Murray bought the old black and white Ancoats Hall from the Mosleys and rebuilt it as it later stood, and it became the Ancoats museum until 1955.

In 1826 there arose a conflict between two sections of the Gas Commissioners who had made a profit of £4,337 10s. 6d., exclusive of lighting street lamps to which forty-three streets had recently been added. Radicals supported the consumers in demanding the reduction of both the price of gas and the amount of the Police Rate. But the opposing party who wished to continue using the profits for street improvements carried the day.

The main social significance of the Irish influx at this time lay in its tendency to lower the wages and standard of living of the English wage-earning class. This clash of social standards had been clearly foreseen by the Committee of Emigration in 1827. "Two different rates of wages and two different conditions of the labouring classes cannot permanently co-exist. One of two results appears to be inevitable. The Irish population must be raised towards the standard of the English or the English depressed towards that of the Irish. The question appears to your Committee to resolve itself into the simple point whether the wheat-fed population of Great Britain shall or shall not be supplanted by the potato-fed population of Ireland." Cobbett put the same point of view more picturesquely when he said, "There were three countries under the government's control. One of them had meat and bread and knives and forks, the other had oatmeal and brose and horn spoons, and the third had only potatoes and paws."

Increasing facilities for the education of poorer children was provided by the erection of St. John's and St. Matthew's Sunday schools and a day school for 200 pupils was opened by the New Jerusalem Church.

Penelope Heaton gives an interesting account of a number of persons in Manchester, at this time, particularly the minor poets, ending with John Critchley Prince.

During the movement to disfranchise Penrhyn, Lord John Russell's proposal to transfer its two seats to Manchester caused considerable excitement in the town. A public meeting was held and a deputation sent to London. The scheme fell through, or this piecemeal process of redistribution might have spread over fifty years the reform effected in 1832.

John Greenwood ran the first omnibus from Pendleton to Market Street on January 1st, 1828, and thus began a service in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. These early vehicles, drawn by two horses, carried eight inside and two or three beside the driver. The fare was 6*d.* inside and 4*d.* outside. Other services quickly followed and, by 1834, Everett says:—"In consequence of these increased accommodations persons are constantly removing to the outskirts of the town and the surrounding villages."

Great consternation was caused by the swamping of the New Quay Company's vessel *Emma*, when she was launched on February 29. Thirty-eight persons were drowned. A fund was quickly raised by subscription for the relief of bereaved families and for the reward of the rescuers. In later life the elder of the sisters who christened the vessel presented the Cromwell monument to the town.

On Tuesday, October 7, 1828, the first Manchester Musical Festival of modern days took place. It was a season of general and delightful relaxation in which all the wealthier classes of the district participated. Of the proceeds, £5,000 was distributed to charitable institutions, half of it going to the infirmary.

The Act to amend several Acts for cleansing, lighting, watching, improving and regulating the Town of Manchester and Salford, constituted separate commissioners for Salford. It also legalised the payment of street improvements out of gas profits. At the same time, the election of the Commissioners was made more democratic so that the number of persons qualified to act was greatly increased.



To accommodate the increasing fish trade, a new Fish Market was erected on the site of the Old Shambles, in the Market Place.

The first joint stock bank established in the town was the Bank of Manchester, at the corner of Brown Street and Market Street, which opened on November 8. Its projected capital was to be two million pounds, in 20,000 shares of £100 each, but later this was reduced to £10 shares, of which £4 was called up.

Sir Robert Peel's speech on the greatness of Manchester at a public dinner in October 1828, asks:

Where is the man of education and reflection who can now witness these scenes without admiration? If he take any interest in the progress of human improvements, or in the perfection of mechanical skill, let him inspect what I have inspected within the last four days, and he will not know which to admire most—the extraordinary ingenuity of the inventions or the stupendous effects they produce. If he be a man of science, let him come here and see the practical applications, the knowledge of which he has acquired—let him see the great theoretical truths which have been developed by the first minds of the world—no longer in the hope of barren theories, calculated only for the admiration of mere spectators, but applied to the production and perfection of everything that can conduce to the comfort, convenience and luxury of life. If he be a minister charged with the responsible duty of presiding over the destinies of his country, he will find here the grounds for increased confidence in the power and resources of his native land. It is true he will see here no fortifications—no preparations for offensive or defensive war—but here he may contemplate one of the great storehouses of natural energy, without which arms and fortifications and military skill, are an empty parade. He will understand by what mysterious means this country has been enabled to rule the destinies of remote empires, in spite of the limits of her own soil, and her comparatively small population. He will see how these deficiencies have been compensated and England has been raised to an unrivalled station among the nations of the civilised world. He will understand why it is that she has flourished in spite of the predictions of those prophets of misfortune, who every year for the last 100 years, have forecast her immediate downfall. Why is it that rejecting the counsels of the timid and desponding, she has risen buoyant through 1,000 difficulties, and seen the final triumph of many a good cause? He will learn here how foolish are the opinions of those who talk of separate interests between the land and trade. Let him witness the progress of agriculture in the district. let him go where I have been this day—let him go to the hills that house this

horizon, and see cultivation and improvement, year after year, creeping up towards the topmost ridges of them—and he will find a convincing proof—a proof verifiable to his senses—that the welfare of the land is bound up inseparably with the prosperity of manufacturing interests. Such are the lessons which will be taught to him whose immediate and exclusive concern is the welfare of this his own country.

The year 1829 was again marked by great distress among the working classes. In May serious riots occurred; four weaving factories were attacked and destroyed; many provision shops were raided; and the military were called out to restore order. The *Manchester Guardian*, on August 8, 1829, remarked that “the Irish were the most serious evil with which our labouring classes have to contend.” Doherty, the spinners’ secretary had come from Ireland about 1815 and had been imprisoned for his share in the Manchester spinners’ strike in 1818. Francis Place, horrified by his vehemence, described him as “a right uncompromising, intolerant Irish Catholic, altogether a wrong-headed, singularly obstinate, persevering man.” But the determination of the masters to break the strike of the Manchester fine spinners, their misrepresentations of the claims of the men and their refusal throughout to negotiate left the spinners with a strong sense of their tyranny and injustice. It was easy now for them to believe that the profits of the manufacturers and the welfare of the workers were irreconcilable.

Nevertheless, the Gas Commissioners continued to thrive. By June, they were at last free from debt and were able to report with pride, “that the whole of the interior of the town is now lighted with gas.” They had also paid for the main structure of the King Street Town Hall and negotiated successfully with the new Concert Hall Committee for the widening of St. Peter’s Square and part of Lower Mosley Street.

Fire protection was still primitive. There were thirty-six firemen but the turn-cocks to the water mains were under the control of others. The fire engines were kept locked up and both sets of men lived in their own homes, so fires had a good chance to burn themselves out.

Houses were now re-numbered with even on one side and odd numbers on the other instead of consecutively. Up to 1830, every street was admitted into the Town’s books as soon as the owner had voluntarily paved and sewered it; and thenceforth,

the sewerage and repairs to the surface became chargeable to the public. But in that year, powers were obtained by the Commissioners of Police to compel the owners, at their own expense, to pave and sewer those streets which were not on the Town's books. At that period, there were about two hundred streets on the books, and there have since been added to them, up to the present time, three hundred and thirty streets. But there existed another body called the Surveyors of Highways, who were elected annually by the leypayers, generally at the Old Church. The regular repair of the surface of all streets on the Town's Book which were ranked as highways, devolved upon this body; but the care of the sewers belonged to the Commissioners. The number of streets, courts, and places still unpaved, perhaps about five hundred in number, and the sewerage and repairs of these still rested with the owners; they were amenable to the police regulations, as regards nuisances, encroachments, obstructions etc; and were lighted and watched at the public expense.

The Police Act of 1830 gave the Commissioners increasing powers of control, e.g., no new street was to be less than twenty-four feet wide. When one side was built upon owners might be required to pave and drain it; doors and gates were to be opened inwards; no private sewers were to be turned into the public ones, without notice to the Commissioners, etc. A definite encroachment on the prerogative of the Court Leet was the provision that the Commissioners could employ day police as well as night watch. They were also authorised to make payments in relief of the debt on the Highways Rates resulting from the Market Street improvements. After negotiations with the trustees of the turnpike road for the removal of the toll gate on Ducie Bridge, the Commissioners took over the contract for widening Miller Street at a cost of £800.

Clarke's *Lancashire Gazeteer* has this interesting note: "Upon the whole Manchester, of all the trading towns in the kingdom, is that which has obtained the greatest accession of wealth and population; the fortunes that have been raised from small capitals by the spirit and ingenuity of its inhabitants have probably exceeded those acquired in any other manufacturing place, and it is but justice to say, that in no town has opulence been more honourably and respectably enjoyed, the purse of its inhabitants being ever open to calls of charity and patriotism."

## *32. Reign of William IV*

1830-1837

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THE most important local event in the first year of the new reign was the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, on September 15, 1830. So great had been the expansion of business in the textile industry that a new means of communication became imperative, as it took longer to transport cargoes from Liverpool to Manchester than from U.S.A. to England. Cotton lay at Liverpool for weeks together waiting to be removed, whilst sometimes in winter, manufacture had to be suspended entirely because the canal was frozen up.

In Liverpool Road, the first Manchester station now used as a goods dépôt, with the original ticket window and the platform, remains unaltered. This was the terminus until 1844 when the line was extended to join the Manchester and Leeds Railway at Victoria Station. But the district in which it was originally situated had a very different appearance from that seen today. The station was placed amidst rural surroundings away from the town. Open fields fringed Water Street from Liverpool Road, to what is now Dawson Street whilst at the corner of Water Street, was a bowling green. From the front of the station, Hulme Hall could be seen across the fields and the Cornbrook ran open near by. For the convenience of passengers a booking office was opened in Market Street whence omnibuses conveyed first-class passengers. When a passenger booked the name was entered in a book and on a way-bill, a counterfoil being given to the passengers. The train was started by the blowing of a horn. Punctuality was not generally recognized.

Although the original object had been goods traffic, on the day following the opening, an advertisement for passengers appeared in the press, "The public are respectfully informed that railway carriages start from Crown Street, Liverpool and



Liverpool Road, Manchester at seven, twelve, and four (first-class), and at ten-thirty, and two-thirty (second-class)." There was also a Sunday service. The time by coach was four hours; that by train one-and-a-half hours. The fare of 7*s.* 6*d.* was soon reduced to 6*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.*, according to class. Within fourteen days of opening, the passengers amounted to 800 a day, which number had increased to 1,200 a day before the end of October.



BRIDGE OVER WATER-STREET, MANCHESTER,  
*With the Offices and Warehouses of the Railway Company*

#### FIRST RAILWAY STATION

In their first report, at the end of three and a half months, the Directors state that upwards of 130,000 persons had booked at the Company's office and, in addition, others had been picked up at the various stopping places. "The company made their first experiment in the carriage of merchandise on Dec. 4, 1830. Shortly afterwards they built carriages for the transit of livestock. Pigs had the honour of being first conveyed.—Early in 1832 they began to carry timber; and almost from the commencement of operations, coal had formed a staple of their traffic.—Horned cattle are not much carried; the price of driving being less than that of conveyance." (Wheeler).

Richard Harding gives this impression of railway travel:

The conveyance is extremely easy. The rapidity with which it moves though not so great as I had been led to expect is like going upon the wings of the wind. In passing an object you seem to fly by it like an arrow, no sooner does it appear in sight than it is gone far behind. Sometimes you are moving upon an elevation far above the surface of the earth, at another time you are far below it thundering down a deep channel and under numerous arches. . . . The railway is certainly one of the wonders of art; it is such a stupendous work that you wonder at man's undertaking it. I have heard that the railway was made in some places at the expense of a guinea an inch. The road is raised many feet above the country for many miles together and the earth, by which it is effected, brought 6 or 7 miles distance. It is a fine sight to see the carriages running along over these elevations leaving in their rear a dense cloud of steam and smoke.

As a commercial and manufacturing town, Manchester has of late years become distinguished by its importance beyond any other in the kingdom. The liberal and public spirited inhabitants having gained opulence in consequence of their superior genius and industry, its public buildings particularly the modern ones, are all erected on a proportionate scale of size and elegance.

Nearly adjoining the Commercial Room is the Post Office, which produces a very large revenue, Manchester being amongst all other towns only inferior in population to London and Glasgow, and still in a state of rapid progress. The trade of Manchester extends through every part of Europe. The Rivers Irk, Medlock and Irwell, together with several canals, afford prodigious advantages of communication with all the towns and ports of Great Britain, and particularly with Liverpool and Hull and London. (Westall.)

The veteran temperance reformer, Joseph Livesey of Preston, has left on record his impressions of the moral, social and religious state of the people in Manchester, according to the observations he made during a week-end visit, beginning on Saturday, January 1, 1831. Like all narrow-minded persons devoted to a single cause, he makes an attack on the government and is particularly bitter against the chapels that he visited, not realizing that many of the "respectable" people had been rescued or had raised themselves from the conditions he condemns. "Arriving about 11 o'clock, I was surprised to notice the vast number of people who were crowded in every main street. This was owing to New Year's Day being usually kept as a great holiday in Manchester, and also to the entry of Mr. Hunt from Oldham, in his new character as member for Preston. The appearance and demeanour of the people were especially

objects of my observations. I was sorry to notice from the general complexion all those symptoms which indicate distress and misery. Many were badly clothed, very dirty, and with countenances much dejected; and still, as I fancied, indicated by their movements and manners were supported by a hope of better times. The misery of these people was evidently owing to their poverty, but from several incidents it was equally clear that this poverty was in too many cases the product of idleness and excess." The dram-shops were crowded and from 6.5 to 6.35 p.m. he counted as many as 162 persons entering one such place near New Cross, two-thirds being women and girls.

When the Coronation of William IV took place on Thursday, September 8, 1831, the festive programme drawn up for the previous coronation was taken as a precedent and acted on, though not on so elaborate a scale. Rain in abundance helped to mar the Coronation Day of William IV. The school-children, whilst waiting at Ardwick Green for the trades procession, were drenched to the skin and had to be summarily disbanded. A Company of weavers, members of a political union chiefly from the St. George's Road (Rochdale Road) district, endeavoured to head off the trades procession in town. They turned out clad in mourning cloaks, bearing a coffin and carrying potatoes and red herrings on the tops of sticks. What their object was nobody seemed to know, unless it was to symbolise that they existed on dry bread and red herring until they died of poverty and starvation. The crowd good-humouredly hustled them aside and the procession proceeded to its destination.

In October, the first locomotive engine made in the town; by Galloway and Bowman; appropriately named the "Manchester", began running on the Manchester and Liverpool Railway. Vertical cylinders were 14" in diameter; boiler pressure was not to exceed 60 lb. per sq. in. Driving wheels were 5 ft. in diameter, made of wood, with wrought iron tyres; total weight under 12 tons.

In the early nineteenth century, politics provided the people with the excitement and interest that today is supplied by the theatre, the cinema and other public entertainment. At this time Manchester, which had no Member of Parliament, contained as many inhabitants as there were in the 130 boroughs which returned 260 members, the majority of the representatives from English seats in the House of Commons.



When Lord Grey's Whig Ministry took office in November 1830, hopes of obtaining representations ran high in Manchester. But the leaders of the town were disunited. Alleging "the excitement of the times", the Boroughreeve and Constables refused, on January 1, 1831, to call a meeting in support of Parliamentary reform. But the Police Commissioners granted the use of the Town Hall in King Street and the meeting was held on January 31. Three months later, the Boroughreeve and Constables called a meeting, their first on the subject, to thank the ministry of Lord Grey for the plan of reform they had announced. While the Bill was still before the Commons, a meeting was held in September, with the Boroughreeve in the chair, "to show that the people were still animated with the same determined resolution which had been manifested throughout the long protracted contest."

When the Reform Bill was rejected by the Lords, the greatest excitement prevailed in the town. At a meeting attended by about 10,000 people on Campfield, a resolution was passed promising the government every support in their power and begging the King to take all constitutional precautions to counteract the rejection of the Bill.

In May 1832, Lord Russell resigned when his new Reform Bill failed to pass the Lords. The news reached Manchester soon after 7 a.m. on the Thursday and created such a sensation that work and business came to a standstill. A Committee, that had been meeting daily in the Town Hall, was joined by many merchants, manufacturers and other townsmen and a petition to the House of Commons was prepared. Although the sheets were only distributed to the appointed places by 3 p.m., the signatures amounted to 24,000 in three hours. This was the first petition praying the House of Commons to stop supplies until reform and redress of grievances were obtained. A post chaise, with a deputation of three gentlemen carrying the petition and cheered by thousands of enthusiastic supporters, set off for London at 6 p.m., and arrived there at 11 a.m. the next day—a record journey of seventeen hours.

Four days later, a meeting of men only, numbering 40,000 met on St. Peter's Fields in further support of the Bill which, on June 7, became law and Manchester was at last enfranchised. A magnificent procession on August 9 showed the joy of the townfolk in achieving the object which they had so long and strenuously advocated.



While the reform agitation was at its height, a new disease had been conveyed to England from the continent. On November 17, a local Board of Health was formed, with Dr. Kay as secretary to take precautions. But, by May 1832, the dreaded cholera had reached Manchester. By August, there were 149 cases of which 93 had proved fatal. During the month of August the disease raged with increasing violence and by the end of the month, the number of cases reached 650. But with the approach of winter the ravages of the disease gradually declined.

No one at this time knew the origin of cholera or the method by which infection was carried. Dr. Kay's survey of the moral and physical condition of the working class, 1832, was one of the cardinal documents of Victorian history. For the first time the actual condition of a great urban population was exposed to view.

The population at this time was 142,026 of whom 674 died of cholera by the end of December. The crowded streets and courts of the old town were the main areas for the ravages of the disease. A table compiled by the Board of Health shows that 248 streets were unpaved, 53 were partially paved, 112 were ill-ventilated, 352 contained heaps of refuse, stagnant pools and dung. Of the houses, 2,565 required whitewashing, 960 needed repair, 1,435 were damp, 452 were ill-ventilated, worst of all, 2,221 were without privies and there were 267 pauper lodging houses. Between 1821 and 1831 the population of the town had increased by no less than 45 per cent; a rate of growth which had never before or since been equalled. Some of the immigrants were from the rural areas but most of them came across the Irish Sea where they were used to lower standards of living. They packed into the cellar-dwellings along the Irk and Medlock and crowded, whole families in one room, into the houses of the old town as their former inhabitants moved into the purer air and green fields of the outskirts.

"If the well-off middle classes had money and large houses and gardens, they had few of the conveniences that today we should consider essential. Their houses were lit by candles, as gas was too expensive for use in private houses; they had no baths and no water carriage. Cesspools in the gardens, which had to be cleaned out at intervals, were better than the privy middens in the working class houses, but very inferior to water

closets. Their water supply might be, and often was, polluted and thus a source of typhoid and other diseases." (Lady Simon.)

Banck's map, published 1832, from a survey by Thornton, was the most complete and valuable one up to date showing the length of the streets and the division of property. It shows how restricted and overcrowded was the township area and includes several suburbs not found in any preceding plan.

Collyhurst was still open country and there were only a few scattered dwellings in Cheetham. To the south, a few houses straggled along Chester Road as far as Cornbrook and then the open country began. Hulme consisted almost entirely of fields, with a farm in the middle of them.

On Friday, December 14, 1832, Mark Phillips and C. P. Thomson were elected Members for Manchester in the Reformed Parliament. They were both Whigs, (later Liberals), and their selection was a triumph for the advocates of Free Trade, which had now become the dominant political doctrine locally.

The infirmary obtained the prefix "Royal" when William IV agreed to become its patron. Manufacture still predominated as is shown by the fact that there were 16 silk, 96 cotton, 4 woollen, and 2 flax mills in the town.

On September 2, 1833, the Statistical Society consisting of thirteen members, was founded. As the first Annual Report says: "The Society owes its origin to a strong desire felt by its projectors to assist in promoting the progress of social improvements in the manufacturing population by which they are surrounded. Its members are not associated merely for the purpose of collecting facts concerning the conditions of the inhabitants of this district, as its name might seem to imply, but the first resolution entered on its minutes pronounces it to be a Society for the discussion of subjects of political and social economy, and for the promotion of statistical enquiries to the total exclusion of party politics." A subscription of a guinea each was used to pay expenses. Many valuable papers are published in the Society's Transactions, but unfortunately some of the early ones were lost.

From one of its reports we learn that 36,770 boys and girls were enrolled in 94 Sunday schools and 3,524 at 14 day schools in addition to 7 infant schools. Another report of St. Michael's district, 'a part of the town which, more than any other was

peopled by the working class, showed that out of 16,554 persons, 20 per cent lived in cellars. Of the total number 55 per cent were English, 45 per cent Irish whose rents varied from 1s. 6d. to 3s. a week. Out of 12,117 children only 252 attended day school and 4,680 Sunday school.

In 1834, the first convent for nuns, in the parish of Manchester, was commenced in connection with St. Patrick's, Livesey Street.

A proposal by the Gas Commissioners that they should sell the undertaking to a Joint Stock Company, brought forth a declaration in favour of public ownership of the common utilities such as gas, waterworks, and markets. The prosperity of the gas undertaking is shown by the grant of £10,191 7s. 5d. to the Improvement Fund.

Of this suggested deal, the *Manchester Times* of January 24 says: It was "in Manchester alone that people could be found who advocated the municipal provision of public utilities as a consciously held and fully articulate doctrine of social ownership," and reports the opinion of Thomas Hopkins:

It is highly desirable that the inhabitants of a large town like Manchester should have the ownership of works like the gas works, and amongst the many reasons why the works should be retained a very important one was breaking up the streets. . . . He conceived also that waterworks and markets should belong to the town, some progress should be made to obtain the ownership of these. . . . It was of importance that gas should be good but what security would there be for its being good if the works went into the hands of a joint stock company? Their interest would be to make as much money as they could. . . . For these reasons he considered that all public works should belong to the town or be under the control of the public, for they generally acted under the influence of more elevated feelings than those whose principal aim was profit. The absence of a number of things of this kind in a town constituted its decline, but a number of advantages of this description gave prosperity. . . . Instead of giving up what the town at present possessed, a plan of action should be laid down which would bring under the control of the town everything which might belong to it.

"It would be difficult to find a statement in more complete opposition to the philosophy of what is called the Manchester School than this utterance." (Laski.)

The use of the term "Manchester School" here is antedated, for the phrase was first coined by Disraeli in the House of

Commons in 1848. Speaking on income tax on March 10, 1848, Mr. Disraeli said: "The great leaders of the school of Manchester never pretended for a moment that they advocated the principles of regulated competition or reciprocal intercourse; on the contrary they brought forward new principles, expressed in peculiar language."

Speaking in the House of Commons on "the state of the nation", July 6, 1849, Disraeli observed: "He [Sir Robert Peel] speaks with a sneer of those who think that the principles of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market is a new principle invented by the Manchester School. I have a right to use that phrase, for I gave them that name. I gave it them with all respect, I thought it a homage due to their deleterious, but not unprincipled doctrines."

The year 1835 marked a new level of prosperity. Harvests had been good and the price of wheat had fallen steadily. Railway expansion not only created a new demand for labour but also stimulated production in consumable goods generally, owing to their wider distribution. Whole families from the congested agricultural districts were able to obtain work easily in the factory towns. This prosperity led to a mania of speculation in Joint Stock Companies. Many of these failed, spreading ruin in their train, so the reign closed with a general depression in trade and consequent unemployment.

On May 18, 1835, the Natural History Museum was opened in Peter Street, (on the site of the present Y.M.C.A.), under the auspices of the Natural History Society, which had been formed in 1821. An admission fee of £10 10s. and an annual subscription of £2 2s. were charged, so that no wonder the report of the society in 1839 contained the note: "Not one individual has applied for admission as being of the working class." The public were admitted, on certain days, on payment of 1s.

On October 18, the Athenaeum was established in Bond Street (now Princess Street), for the purpose of affording persons of the middle classes in society, chiefly young men, a suitable resort for reading the public prints and for attending lectures; also to enable them at moderate charge to enjoy the benefits of a library. These privileges and many others, are secured to subscribers on payment of 30s. per annum. 43 English, 4 Irish, 5 Scottish, 1 French, 3 German, and a file of American daily papers were taken besides Reviews and Maga-



zines, and the Library numbered 3,960 volumes. The building was closed and bought by the Corporation in 1938, being opened as an annexe to the Art Gallery in the next year.

De Tocqueville, who visited the town, which he, in error, calls a city, says:

Everything in the outward appearance of the city attests the individual power of man; nothing the regulating power of society. Human liberty reveals at each step its capricious force. . . . Around have been scattered, as at will, the wretched habitations of the poor. They are reached by a multitude of little tortuous paths. Between them extends cultivated ground which has lost the charm of country life but is yet without the advantages of the town. The land there is already disturbed, torn up in a thousand places, but is not yet covered with the dwellings of man. The streets which connect these badly joined portions of the great town, present as everything does, the example of hasty and incomplete work. . . . A dense smoke covers the city. The sun appears through it like a disc without rays. It is in the midst of this incomplete day that 300,000 human creatures toil without ceasing. A 1,000 voices are raised incessantly in the midst of this humid and obscure labyrinth. . . . Nowhere do you see happy ease taking his leisurely walk in the streets of the city or going to seek simple enjoyment in the surrounding country. A multitude passes along without stopping, but its steps are brusque, its looks abstracted, its aspect sombre and uncouth. . . . It is here that the human spirit becomes perfect and at the same time brutalised, that civilization produces its marvels, and that civilized man returns to the savage.

Mrs. Isabella Banks comments on this Frenchman's seven day's sojourn: With regard to the "uncultivated ground," Stevenson Square was open ground covered with baulks of timber on both sides of Lever Street. There was a large plot of ground in Portland Street, from York Street towards Charlotte Street, over which fire had made a clean sweep. There was a patch of St. Peter's Fields bare to Mount Street. Then Garrett fields lay waste within the circuit of Shooter's Brook and the inky Medlock from Brook Street, (Garrett Street), to Granby Row; it was overshadowed by one of three factories which lay below the level of the road, was rough and hillocky and, as M. de Tocqueville paid his visit in wet weather, would no doubt show a fair quota of pools and puddles. . . . There were other bald spots that would present an aspect of savagery to a Frenchman looking through sooty showers of rain, and in an ill humour with the weather. He did not or would not see in these

waste places signs of extension beyond them. . . . Even now Manchester does not show at its best in wet weather, so we may excuse a native of sunny France if he exaggerated somewhat of its worst. . . . Though he does use strong language, I never fancied Manchester was a tithe so grim as he represented.

At this time there were two police forces in the town. The day police under the direction of the Deputy Constable, a manorial official with a salary of £400, numbered only 30 men. The night-watch, which now contained 125 men, was under the control of the Police Commissioners. Thomas Davis, who received £100 a year, was the superintendent in charge.

In 1836 Wheeler's *History of Manchester* was published and from it may be gained many useful facts and figures. Expansion of steam power was dependent on supplies of coal, the demand for which, had now risen to 913,991 tons. Of this 63 per cent was brought by canal.

The Corn Exchange in Hanging Ditch, which cost £3,250 was opened in January 1837. It had a pedimented frontispiece of the Ionic order. Six columns, the bases of which were seven feet above the pavement, and the pillars, twenty-one feet in height, supported the pediment. The large room was separated into three avenues by ranges of stands for the merchants and its area of nearly 600 square yards gave standing room for about 2,400 persons. Every Saturday the room was used as a Corn Exchange and, on other days, was let for lectures, floral exhibitions, and religious and other public meetings.

In the same year, The Architectural Society, with rooms in Cooper Street, was established "for the purpose of diffusing a general taste for architecture and the fine arts, as well as for affording to members of the profession opportunities for friendly intercourse and mutual improvements, and of junior members facilities for pursuing their studies by the establishment of a library of standard works on art for circulation and reference; periodical meetings for reading papers and discussions; and occasional exhibitions and conversaziones." The new Manchester Grammar School, the third on the site, and the house for the High Master, Fennel Street, were completed in 1837. John Jennison bought a tiny roadside Inn named Belle Vue House, with thirty-six acres of ground and, with a borrowed pelican and four monkeys, laid the foundations of the huge playground known to millions to-day under that name.

### 33. *The Royal Charter*

June 20, 1837—1840

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WHEN the reign of Queen Victoria began the Improvement Commissioners were engaged in two important schemes. The first was the completion of Victoria Street which had been started four years earlier. It is difficult for us to realise that until this date there had been no road at all in front of the Old Church but that along the river, buildings were piled, step above step, from the stream to the churchyard above. There was a footpath from the Hanging Bridge across the churchyard to Fennel Street and from that street to a low footbridge across the Irk. The way north was through Long Millgate, over Scotland Bridge, and up Red Bank, for there was as yet no Corporation Street. One of the most notable pieces of work done by the Police Commissioners was this cutting through the tangle of mean and narrow streets, from Smithy Door to Hunts Bank, to form the mighty sweep of Victoria Street.

When at the end of January 1836, the stone wall alongside the river collapsed, the area between that and the Churchyard was built up on arches forming a viaduct. These arches were lighted by gas and let for various manufactures, a chimney being erected for carrying away smoke from these works. Corbett gives an illustration showing the large windows of these arches and the gateposts of the former cartway down to the copper works below the street. In 1871, the chimney was struck by lightning and had to be taken down but the base remained for some time.

The other improvement scheme was replacing the mediæval bridge over the Irwell by the present Victoria Bridge. Begun in 1837, it was completed two years later at a cost of £16,197 3s. 9d. to the Improvement Fund. During the rebuilding a temporary wooden footbridge served for pedestrians.

It seems strange to us that the removal of night soil was still

the responsibility of the individual householders. As a result of this responsibility much was emptied into the river, piled on manure dumps or, in the worst districts just emptied into the streets, so that the town was becoming anything but a pleasant place.

This unpleasantness is emphasised by a Frenchman named Méry who visited the town in 1837. He notices that it did not rain, and of course adds that it always rains in Manchester and that the machinery would not work if the atmosphere were not humid. "Even in July the clouds hang like a grey tent over the great town, which knows the sun by repute only." The misery of industrial life oppressed Méry's imagination, as it had already done at Lyons. But in Manchester the misery was, he thought profounder than in Lyons. At Manchester misery accepted its condition as a matter of destiny. Méry had wandered through the night in the streets and the silent town impressed him.

"This Manchester that I saw sleeping on the banks of its canals was the workshop of the world; to it we have recourse when it is necessary to dig a road across the mountains, to imprison a volcano in a ship, to melt iron to the softness of wax, to throw a block of quarried stone to the top of an edifice, when we need textiles or the armouring of ships against the rocks." He declared Manchester to be the most interesting town in England and in the world. Here he found nothing of sky, greenery of gardens, noise of fountains, brilliance of sunshine brightness of promenades, gaiety of streets; nothing of that which charms in the south of France. Yet he became accustomed to this "Extraordinary town" and in a few days he had an affection for Manchester.

Manchester and Leeds Railway terminated at Oldham Road station and here in 1837, railway tickets first came into use. Thomas Edmondson, who had been a railway clerk near Carlisle, found the writing of railway vouchers irksome as well as delaying. It occurred to him that the work might be done by a machine, so he took out a patent for his invention. He let out his patent on profitable terms: 10s. per mile per annum; that is, a railway of 30 miles long paid him £15 a year for licence to print its own tickets by his apparatus. His invention became so widely used that he soon left Oldham Road station to devote himself to his patent.



Several unsuccessful attempts to draw up a Charter were made from 1820 onwards and a Petition in support of the Municipal Reform Act, (1835), had been taken up to London. But it speaks well for the efficiency of the Police Commissioners that no real demand for incorporation was made until 1837. In October of that year, Richard Cobden was summoned as a Juror to the Manor Court Room in Brown Street, and was appalled by the meagre attendance and waste of time.



RICHARD COBDEN

Cobden gives a vivid account of this meeting in his pamphlet, "Incorporate Your Borough"; in which he also gave an account of the Municipal Reform Act; and urged the need for a democratic government of the town instead of a feudal one.

But he made no mention of the Police Commissioners, who for nearly half a century had controlled the town and collected a Police Rate; nor of the Churchwardens and Overseers who collected the Poor Rate and supervised relief; nor of the Surveyors of Highways who also collected a rate. Also he ignored the obvious need for the amalgamation of these various bodies.

On January 22, 1838, as the result of an invitation by circular, a meeting of 600 people appointed a committee to prepare a petition to the Boroughreeve asking for a town's meeting. Before this was held, on February 9, the town was plastered with violent and inflammatory posters condemning incorporation. About 2,000 attended the meeting in the Town Hall, King Street, and in spite of opposition, a resolution was passed in favour of incorporation. A petition for incorporation was then drawn up and submitted to the Privy Council, on March 10.

Supporting and opposing petitions were also deposited and the way in which Captain Jebb whittled away the opposing majority makes interesting reading.

Queen Victoria's Coronation was celebrated with great enthusiasm in Manchester as a result of the following notice:

The Boroughreeve and Constables hereby give notice that there will be a procession of the Inhabitants on 28 June next in honour of Her Majesty's Coronation and beg to recommend that the day be held as a Public Holiday. Such Public Bodies and Associations of Trades as wish to join the procession are requested to give notice in writing, together with the names and addresses of the parties authorised to act on their behalf, to the Borough Committee which will sit in the Boroughreeve's Room, Town Hall, on the Tuesday Evening of each week, at 6 o'clock, until and including the 19th of June, beyond which time no application can be received. No Political Associations will be allowed to join the procession, nor will any political party banners or devices be allowed to be carried or exhibited therein. There will be a Public Ball at the Assembly Rooms, Mosley Street, on the same evening. Gents Tickets, 15s. Ladies tickets, 10s. There will also be a Display of Fireworks, at 10 o'clock in the evening. Subscriptions to defray the expenses will be received by the Boroughreeve and Constables.

The morning of June 28, 1838, dawned bright and cloudless and, from an early hour flags floated from churches and public buildings, while the day was ushered in by the booming of cannon, the rattle of musketry and the merry peal of bells. People were astir early on that memorable day. Vast crowds gathered in St. Ann's Square and Market Street at 7 a.m. to witness the assembly of the schoolchildren, estimated at 41,500, who marched to Ardwick Green. Here they sang the National Anthem and then dispersed to their various schools. Following the children were the military, consisting of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the Artillery, and the 98th Foot. Behind these were the representatives of the various trades. None but the military, the magistrates and the stewards were allowed to join the procession on horseback. Subscriptions for the splendid display of fireworks at Ardwick Green reached nearly £200.

On July 4, 1838, Manchester was thrown into a state of pleasant excitement by the arrival in the Duke's Basin at Knott Mill, of a boat laden with goods and propelled by steam. Named *The Novelty*, she was driven by a small high pressure marine engine of only 4 horsepower, at a rate of nearly 8 miles per hour. A square box had been constructed at the stern of one of the canal boats and into this two paddles, revolving contrary ways and working transversally, not parallel to the boat, were introduced. This was to prevent the wash from the paddles damaging the banks of the canals. She had carried eleven tons of goods from London to Manchester and was expected to complete the return journey in three days.

Dr. Clark of Philadelphia says:

The first view I had of Manchester presented it under the appearance of a large smoky dusty, dingy-looking town, full of bustle and business. Manchester is situated upon three rivers, the Irk, Irwell, and Medlock. It is spread out over a large territory, and its manufacturing and mercantile operations are prodigious. It was formerly celebrated for its manufacture of woollen cloth, but to these have been added successively fustians, mixed stuffs, tapes, laces, linen, silk, and cotton, till at length cotton manufacturers have taken the precedence and Manchester has become the centre of the cotton trade, the emporium at which are collected all the products of the neighbouring towns, whence they are sent to London and Liverpool and Hull for home as well as for foreign consumption. The trade of Manchester has spread itself over all the civilized world and wafted articles made at its manufactories to the most distant shores of both hemispheres. Its commerce has been greatly aided, not

only by the navigable waters of the Irwell and Mersey, but by railroads and canals. There are a number of iron and other foundries here and, in approaching the city, among the first things which strike the eye are scores of huge chimneys peering to an enormous height above the surrounding objects from which issue thick volumes of smoke that spread a most gloomy canopy over the whole town.

The School of Design was opened in the Royal Institution on October 1, 1838, with thirty-six pupils, Mr. Bell being its first master. The purpose of the school was well described by George Jackson in a lecture to the Mechanic's Institution in the previous year. "When I look round this district and see the immense amount of capital and talent that is continually expended to perfect machinery, and on chemistry to produce and perfect colours, it can only be a matter of surprise that more attention has not been paid to the means of improving the use and increasing the value of both, by teaching a better knowledge of design." At first the rooms were rented free, but when a government grant was made, £200 per annum was charged. Under its second master, Mr. Wallis, the school flourished, but later it declined and was removed to Brown Street.

On October 23, 1838, Manchester was constituted a Municipal Borough with an area of 4,293 acres; containing a population of 242,357 and comprising the Townships of Chorlton-on-Medlock, Hulme, Ardwick, with Beswick and Chetham. It was divided into fifteen wards and was to have a Mayor, sixteen Aldermen, and forty-eight Councillors.

The opposition took up the attitude that the Charter was illegal and had been granted contrary to the wishes of the majority of the householders. As the Charter did not compel the Police Commissioners to hand over their powers, they continued as actively as if no Charter had been obtained. They refused the use of the Town Hall for revision of the voters list, for the first municipal election on December 14, and also for the meeting of the newly elected Borough Council on the next day. In order to provide funds to carry on, members of the Council and other citizens signed a Bond of Indemnity to the Bank of Manchester for advances of money made to the Corporation. The total guaranteed was £27,100.

Moreover, the Overseers refused to produce the Rate Books as a basis for the revision of the voters list, while the Borough-



reeve and Constables refused the use of the Manor Court Room, in King Street, for the same purpose. This list when finally completed was found to contain nearly 2,000 less names than the parliamentary list and this is not surprising as the opponents of the Charter did not even make claims for votes.

Carpenter's Hall, Garratt Road, was opened on November 12, 1838. £4,500 was raised by the journeymen whose name it bears. It was the Sunday resort of the Chartists who opened and closed their meetings by singing democratic hymns before listening to political discourses on the justice of democracy and the necessity of obtaining the Charter.

The first meeting of the newly elected Town Council was held in the York Hotel, King Street, on December 14, 1838. Thomas Potter was elected Mayor, Richard Cobden an Alderman, and Joseph Heron was appointed Town Clerk. This appointment was a fortunate one as he had "great ability in the administrative sphere as well as in the legal and had high ideal of municipal government."

With the grant of incorporation, the people of Manchester obtained some of the powers necessary to remedy the great and still increasing social disharmonies. For the next quarter of the century, the men who won the Charter threw themselves into the work of making Manchester a better place to live in. But until an efficient municipal service had been created, they were seriously handicapped.

Owing to the growth of manufacturers and the increase in population it was necessary that Britain should become a corn importing country. Home production was now insufficient and foreign countries desired to exchange their surplus agricultural products for manufactured goods. But the government feared the ruin of British agriculture which until now had been the backbone of the country, and imposed the Corn Laws. The result was stagnation of trade with increasing hunger and unemployment.

Manchester began a new political movement in 1838 by the formation of the Anti-Corn Law Association to educate the public on that subject and thus bring pressure to bear on Parliament. Large sums of money were subscribed and this was spent in giving lectures in rural districts as well as in the towns, distributing handbills, placards, pamphlets etc., and in printing

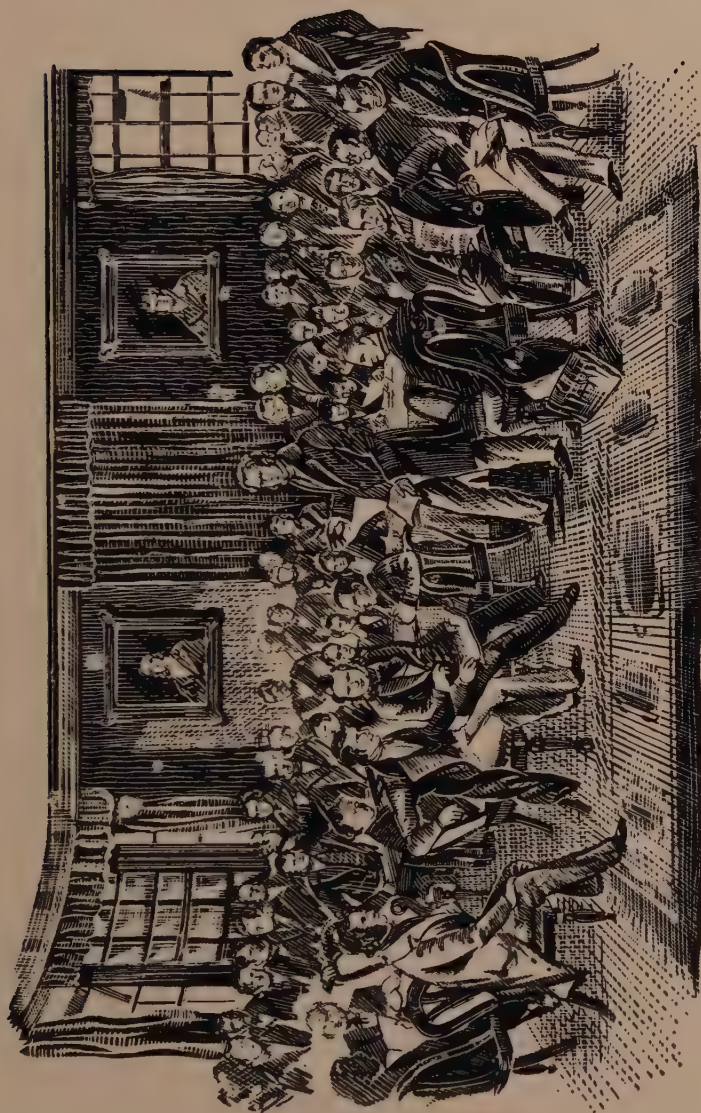
*The Circular*, which soon had a circulation of 15,000. The rapid extension of the railways made it possible for their lecturers to get about the country easily while the institution of the Penny Post, in 1840, enabled them to distribute their pamphlets in a way never before possible.

On September 4, 1838, seven men who met in the York Hotel, King Street resolved that 5s. should be the subscription to the new Association, in order that all classes might be included as members. By the next week fifty men had subscribed and after that the numbers increased rapidly. At the end of the year a petition urging the adoption of Free Trade was sent by the Chamber of Commerce to the House of Commons. In January next year, 800 delegates from all over the kingdom met in the Corn Exchange and at the end of the month, headquarters were established in Newall's Buildings, Market Street. On March 20, delegates who met in London changed the name to Anti-Corn Law League but the central offices still remained in Manchester. In September R. H. Greg, a member of the League, was elected one of Manchester's representatives in Parliament. By the end of the year a "Working Man's Anti-Corn Law Association was established, with its own officers and lecturers, while a Town's Meeting passed a resolution in favour of the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

On August 5, 1839, William White began to ply for hire on Piccadilly, and thus was established the first cab stand in Manchester. W. H. Beeston of Tib Street built his heavy lumbering "growler" with its inadequate springs, and the noise it made, clattering over the cobble stones, could be heard afar.

The first Free Trade Hall was erected in January 1840. This was a temporary pavilion capable of holding over 4,000 persons erected on land in St. Peter's fields which belonged to Richard Cobden, the mainspring of the movement. Here delegates from England and abroad met and were addressed by Daniel O'Connell and other speakers. Throughout the year, petitions continued to flow to Parliament from all over the country.

In the Parliamentary election of June 1841, two free-traders were elected as Members for Manchester and Richard Cobden for Stockport; but they opposed Peel's new tariff proposals in vain. Distress continued to spread, famine threatened the country, the League called another meeting of delegates in



MEETING OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE

Names of important persons present are printed below this picture in the *Manchester Guardian*, Centenary issue, 1921, page 41



London and a deputation waited on the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel.

1842 was marked by industrial unrest and in August there was a great "turn out" of operatives, led by the Chartists, but it collapsed.

In January 1843, a new Free Trade Hall built of brick was opened and lasted for the next ten years. Cobden raised the question of the Repeal of the Corn Laws in the Parliament which re-opened in February. In Manchester, 10,000 persons met in the Free Trade Hall to testify their support to the movement and attachment to its advocates. The campaign of the League was continued through speeches, books, pamphlets, letters, newspaper articles, wafers (i.e. small mottoes) and even children's books. All these were printed, bound and published at their rooms in Market Street.

Thirty-five members of the Free Trade party were by this time, sitting in Parliament. The Council of the League resolved to raise a fund of £100,000 to engage Covent Garden Theatre for fifty nights and to publish a full-sized newspaper, to be called *The League*, instead of the fortnightly *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*. In addition to the twelve or fourteen paid lecturers, members of the League were to be sent as deputies wherever requested and the spate of pamphlets continued. Manchester raised £20,280 as her share of this sum and meetings continued in the town throughout 1844.

A month of almost ceaseless rain towards the end of the summer of 1845, ruined the corn harvest in England and rained away the Corn Laws. On October 28 a meeting of over 8,000 persons gathered in the Free Trade Hall. Cobden vehemently asserted that the only remedy for the famine which threatened was to open the ports to foreign corn.

At a meeting in the Town Hall, in King Street, on December 23, a new appeal was made for funds to carry on the crusade and in a very short time £60,000 had been raised. At a crowded meeting in the Town Hall, attended by about 9,000 people, on January 15, 1846, it was announced that the sum had now reached £75,600.

In Ireland, blight on potatoes ruined the staple food of the peasants. Half the population had died or emigrated to the U.S.A., and the murmurs of the survivors threatened rebellion. Faced by famine in both countries and convinced by the



arguments of The League, Sir Robert Peel, on January 27, 1846, brought in a Bill that gradually reduced the tax on corn and finally abolished it three years later. At a meeting on July 2 in the Town Hall, King Street, it was decided to wind up the affairs of the League and various substantial presents were later made to its chief promoters. The success of the Anti-Corn Law League introduced a new method into English politics, and Manchester became the birthplace of several associations based on the same plan.

On January 10, 1839, the Police Commissioners again refused the request of the Borough Council for permission to meet in the Town Hall. In February another new body was created when thirty-one Borough magistrates, including a Roman Catholic merchant, were appointed and this proved another source of contention.

The Churchwardens and Sidesmen were appointed by the parish at the annual Easter vestry meeting. But in their civil capacity they were also Overseers of the Poor and it was customary to send to the County magistrates, who were responsible for their appointment, the list of those elected at the vestry. The newly-appointed Borough magistrates also appointed Overseers but the Churchwardens refused to levy the Borough Rate, which by the Act had to be collected with the Poor Rate, and £29,000 was guaranteed by supporters of the Corporation until the rate could be levied.

In April a Borough Coroner was appointed and it was his dispute with the County Coroner, after an appeal to the Courts, that finally led to the Act confirming the Charter, in 1842.

One of the arguments for the reform of the government of the Town was the necessity for a more efficient police force. But although the Borough Council appointed a day and night force of 295 constables and 48 officers, the Court Leet and the Police Commissioners went on appointing theirs also. As a result there were three contending police forces and Sir Charles Shaw, who was sent by the government to reorganize the service, remained in control for three years.

New Bailey prison was under the control of the County magistrates who refused to admit prisoners committed by the Borough magistrates unless they also happened to be County magistrates.

This conflict of the old and new public bodies was a great

waste of time and public money and the cause of considerable disorder until the validity of the Charter was confirmed in 1842.

Prentice's pleasant picture of 1826 is off set by this lurid description of 1838 :

The appalling sanitary conditions and underfeeding, the long hours of work and the consequent excessive drinking which only the strongest minded of the workers could resist, resulted in a high death rate. Half the children died under the age of five and Manchester was notorious for its high general death rate. It is no wonder that unrest which took the form of strikes, or beard riots, or attacks on mills and machinery, was recurrent, and it is hardly surprising that in such an atmosphere big demonstrations in favour of the Charter, such as that at Kersal Moor in 1839, should have made the authorities nervous. (Simon).

The Hall of Science in Campfield, built entirely by the savings of mechanics and artisans at a cost of £7,000, was the resort of the followers of Robert Owen, by whom the foundation stone was laid on August 5, 1839. In addition to lectures on Socialism, it commenced a day and Sunday school. The promoters were mostly temperance advocates and were the first to provide tea parties at a low cost. Although the lecture hall, then the most spacious in the town, was crowded on Sunday evenings and many leading speakers delivered lectures within its walls during the next few years, the movement was unsuccessful and ultimately the building was closed. In 1850, it was sold and two years later became the home of the first municipal free library.

Bradshaw's "Railway Time Tables" and "Assistant to Railway Travelling" first made its appearance on October 19, 1839, at a price of 6*d*. It included a map which shows the Lancashire railway system in that year. The date is given as 10th Mo. 19. 1839, because George Bradshaw was a Quaker and considered the names of the months were heathen and therefore unprintable. This little book, in a green cloth cover 4½" by 3", bore the title "Bradshaw's Railway Time Table," in a design of golden foliage.

"The Title-Page, Address, Time Tables and Maps were printed on one side of the paper only, each piece of paper the size of two pages of the book. They were then folded like a piece of notepaper with the printing inside, and then they were pasted together back to back, the first and last sheets being pasted on the inside of the covers. By this means stitching

was unnecessary, and it was possible to bring the book up to date by buying a sheet of the time tables in each month and pasting them over the obsolete pages."

A reprint, bearing no date, has often been mistaken for the original. But two anachronisms provide a simple means of identification. On the plan of Manchester, across the upper left-hand quarter, a railway line crossing Salford joins the Bolton and Leeds line; while in the lower right-hand quarter London Road Station is indicated. Neither of these appears on the original plan as late as the 1841 issues.

Between Manchester and Liverpool there were six trains a day and three on Sunday. The fares inside were 6s. and outside 4s. 6d., children above the age of three years and under ten years half fare.

Whitewood's "A Few Days at Manchester" is a sarcastic and slightly descriptive pamphlet, based on an article in Blackwood's magazine for April of this year, entitled "A Week in Manchester."

The Railway Guide, published by Geo. Jones, Paternoster Row, London in September, 1839, says: "Looking at the size and state of Manchester now, with its numerous dependencies, one is tempted to ask, what has produced so mighty and magical a change? And we answer science, art and commerce. It is to the successive inventions of Hargrave, Arkwright, Crompton, Watt and others, which have so astonishingly increased the extent of its manufacturing capabilities, that this prodigious increase must be attributed. Let those who behold nothing but unmitigated evil to the working classes in the establishment of machinery, look to Manchester and its neighbourhood: there they will see a practical refutation of their opinions. Only sixty or seventy years since, it was comparatively an unimportant town. Now, by the vast powers of machinery, steam, etc., it is raised to its present rank of commercial greatness. To call that injury and evil, which converts a small town into a large one, and at the same time benefits the condition of the inhabitants generally, appears to be reversing the order of language and of things.—Besides the manufacture of various articles of cotton, the linen and silk trades, in addition to woollen cloth, are largely carried on in Manchester. The silk trade has within the last few years increased so rapidly, that the beautiful tex-

tures wrought in this material, both by the French and Spitalfields weavers, are rivalled by the genius, talent and industry of the artisans of this town. There is also a great extent of business carried on in the manufacture of hats; and it is well-known, that what are called London hats, are principally made in Manchester and its neighbourhood. Umbrella making, and the articles comprehended under the term 'Manchester Small Wares' employ many hands, and are a considerable capital. Many chemical works, on a large scale, are carried on here; and in the vicinity are spacious mills for the manufacture of every kind of paper. Iron foundries and machine-making are also carried on to an extent corresponding with the wants of the manufactures of the place."



## 34. *The Municipal Borough I*

1840-1845

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1840 marked the beginning of the Borough Council's supremacy in the affairs of the town. On January 8 the Police Commissioners offered them "the use of such room or rooms in the Town Hall as may be necessary for holding the meetings of the Council or any Committee thereof." The first meeting of the Borough Council in the Town Hall took place on February 17. Thenceforth the committees of the Commissioners tended to become merely executive departments of the Corporation.

Cecil Stewart says:— Between 1840 and 1860 the architecture of Manchester was generally accepted as more advanced and progressive than that of any other city in the country. "Art in Manchester," wrote the editor of the *Builder*, "has sprung into vigorous existence, and the town is now a striking example of prevailing good taste. A new school of architects has sprung up, many of them young men; and it is greatly to the credit of the merchants of the town that they have had judgment to use the services of architects in buildings in which they are seldom applied to, and it is greatly to the credit of the architects that these appeals have been replied to by them universally in the best manner." What so impressed the editor was, of course, the great warehouses which, during this period, were giving Manchester a new look! Bradshaw wrote in his first Guide to Manchester, "Here are structures fit for kings, and which many a monarch might well envy. There are some eight or ten sovereign princes in Germany whose entire revenue would not pay the cost of one of these warehouses. The industrial and scientific energy which has reared them is an honour to our county and speaks well for the future of Manchester. The artistic display is all but equal to the noble enterprise which gave them being. They are, indeed, the most splendid

adornment of this city, and really monumental whether we regard their splendour, their properties, or their durability."

By Act of Parliament, in August, the title "Dean and Canons" was substituted for that of "Warden and Fellows" of the Collegiate Church. In the same month the Old Quay Company began to deepen the Irwell to Victoria Bridge. In the next month, the Court Leet showed the decline of its authority by ceasing to appoint beadles.

The Churchwardens and Overseers continued their expensive and obstructive opposition to the Borough Council. The Poor Rate had doubled and this probably influenced the Poor Law Commissioners in their decision to establish a Union under the Act of 1834. Elections took place in December; the new Guardians came into office on January 1, 1841, and took over administration of relief from March 29.

Meanwhile, on February 29 the validity of the Borough Charter had been confirmed by the Court of Exchequer. The Old Overseers accepted this decision, and by September the Borough Treasurer reported that they had paid over the Borough portion of the rate levied, thus strengthening the Council's financial position at a very critical time.

According to the Census of 1841, the population of the municipal Borough, where there were now 3,782 uninhabited houses, was 235,162. Beswick contained only 345 inhabitants and Cheetham, 6,082. The Parliamentary Borough contained 242,983 people. During the previous forty years, the population in the Township and Hulme had increased threefold while that of Ardwick and Chorlton-on-Medlock had increased fifteenfold.

Dr. W. Cooke Taylor, who visited Manchester during the commercial crisis of 1841, gives this impression of the town:

It is essentially a place of business, where pleasure is unknown as a pursuit, and amusements scarcely rank as secondary considerations. Every person who passes you in the streets has the look of thought and the step of haste. Few private carriages are to be seen; there is only one street of handsome shops and that is of modern date; there are some very stately public buildings but only one of them is dedicated to recreation; the rest are devoted to religion, charity, science or business. . . . The men are as business-like as the places; and in their character a zeal for religion, charity, and science is not less conspicuous than the buildings consecrated to these objects are in the town. . . . The characteristic of the assembly (The Exchange) is talent and

intelligence in high working order; genius and stupidity appear to be equally absent; but, if the average of intellect be not very high, it is evident that not a particle of it remains unemployed. It has been my fortune to visit this place in a season of great commercial prosperity and activity, and more recently at this period of stagnation and depression. . . . The aspect of the Exchange at this period of commercial distress is perfectly appalling; there is a settled gloom upon every countenance, accompanied with a restlessness of eye quite out of keeping with the contracted brow and compressed lip. Eagerness is changed into obstinacy; men seem to feel that their profits, if not their capitals, are slipping from their hands, and they have made up their minds to bear a certain amount of loss, but not to endure one fraction more.



MANCHESTER'S COAT OF ARMS

In January 1842, the new Board of Guardians bought eleven acres at Swinton for a new workhouse and schools for Poor Law children. On May 1, the Herald's granted Arms, Crest and Motto to the Corporation and the first "Chain of Office"

was then purchased for the Mayor. The Arms are described in non-heraldic language as follows:

In the centre is a shield which formed the coat of the Lords of Manchester who controlled the Borough before the townsmen were granted a Charter of Incorporation. Above the shield is a ship in full sail, indicating commercial enterprise. The crest is a terrestrial globe bearing a number of flying bees representing the world to all parts of which the manufactures of the district are exported; and emblematic of industry which has distinguished Manchester and raised it to its present importance. The Motto "Concilio et Labore" may be translated "By Planning and Labour". The supporters, the antelope and the lion, each with a red rose on the shoulder, are taken from the Royal badges and bearings of King Henry IV, Duke of Lancaster.

At the end of the month, the Chorlton-on-Medlock Commissioners transferred their powers and property to the Borough Council.

Butterworth's *Statistical Sketch of Lancashire* says: "The manufacturing population are characterized by great powers of invention, constant habits of searching for improvement, love of all that is practically scientific, and the exercise of well-directed generosity."

On August 31, the Act Confirming the Charter was passed and on October 1, control of the Police force reverted to the Council on the expiry of Sir Charles Shaw's term of office. In December the Police Commissioners opened formal negotiations for the transfer of their powers to the Council. A badge of office, costing fourteen guineas, was purchased for the mayor. It was made of gilt enamel, the Manchester Arms appearing in the middle encircled by a garter bearing the Borough's motto. Although the Act confirming this was not passed until May of the next year, the authority of the Corporation was now supreme. This was first recognised by the Churchwardens when the Mayor and Town Clerk formally attended the Parish Church.

The *Illustrated Itinerary of Lancashire*, 1842, contains the following interesting account of the scene in the second Exchange:

There is perhaps no part of the world in which so much is done and so little said in the same space of time. A stranger sees





FIRST MAYORAL BADGE

nothing at first but a collection of gentlemen with thoughtful intelligent faces who converse with each other in laconic whispers, supplying defects of words by nods and signs. They move noiselessly from one part of the room to another guided as if by some hidden instinct to the precise person in the crowd with whom they have business to transact. A phrenologist will nowhere meet such a collection of decidedly clever heads and the physiognomist who declared that he could find traces of stupidity in the faces of the wisest philosophers would be at a loss to find any indication to its presence in the countenances assembled on the Exchange at Manchester. Genius appears to be not less rare than folly. The characteristic features of the meeting collectively and individually are those of Talent in high working order. Whether trade be brisk or dull "high change" is equally crowded and the difference of its aspect at the two periods is sufficiently striking. In stirring times every man on Change seems as if he belonged to the community of dancing dervishes, being utterly incapable of remaining for a single second in one place. It is a principle of a Manchester man that nought is done while aught remains to do. Let him but have the opportunity and he will undertake to supply all the markets between China and Peru and will be exceedingly vexed if he lost an opportunity of selling some yarn at Japan on his way.

When trade is dull the merchants and factors stand motionless as statues or move about as slowly as if they followed a funeral. The look of eagerness is exchanged for that of dogged obstinacy, it seems to say my mind is made up to lose so much but I am resolved to lose no more. An increase of sternness and inflexibility accompanies the decline of Manchester trade and foreigners declare that the worst time to expect a bargain is in a season of distress. High Change lasts little more than an hour. After the clock has struck two the meeting gradually melts away.

At this time Saturday was the busiest day of the week and work continued in the principal warehouses until 10 or 11 p.m., and even midnight. Banks and solicitors had secured a Friday half-holiday but this was considered unsuitable for warehouses as Friday was post day for London and the Continent. On Monday, September 25, 1843, a meeting was held to urge merchants and tradesmen to adopt the Saturday half-holiday. One of the most active promoters of the movement was William Marsden, a young merchant of twenty-three, who was chairman at this meeting. In spite of strenuous opposition on the part of some firms, the committee obtained the signatures of 441 firms and individuals who agreed to close their places of business at one o'clock on Saturday, November 4, 1843, and 43 carriers followed suit on November 15. The original Agreement Roll is in the Central Reference Library. William Marsden died on May 3, 1848, and a memorial tablet was erected in St. John's Church, off Deansgate.

The Bye-Laws of the Borough published this year prohibited dog fighting, cock fighting, and the baiting of any bull, bear, badger or other animal.

A somewhat coarse and, at times extremely rude pamphlet on Manchester and Manchester people was published in 1843. The author styles himself "A Citizen of the World", but it seems likely that his initials were C. D. This called forth a vigorous condemnation by one who describes himself as "A Foreigner" as follows: "Some nameless snarling cynic has issued a pamphlet containing more wilful misrepresentation, manifest falsehood and scurrilous abuse, than perhaps ever before comprised within an equal number of pages."

Beginning with an attack on the mills, where the owners say work is in paradise but that the workers, in fear of being sacked, are steeped in misery and vice from which education alone can elevate them, he goes on to decry some of the build-

ings. To this, it is replied: "When he speaks of a factory, instead of reflecting on the vast number of persons who by its means are enabled through exercise of honest industry to procure for themselves a comfortable subsistence he can only think of inferring the tyranny of the masters from the toil and necessary discipline to which the operatives are subjected." He specially commends Birley and Company's method of paying wages. "By procuring a large amount of silver and copper every week, each individual receives his or her wages separately before leaving the premises, thus obviating the necessity of going to the public houses or beer shop to seek change, a practice much too general on the Saturday evening."

"One would think that the manufacturers themselves encourage this vice of drunkenness; for it is at the public houses that many of them distribute the wages to their hands; add to which the payment is made upon the Saturday night, at a time when, being at leisure the operative yields more easily to the temptations of drink" (Faucher). Sir Charles Shaw had expressed the opinion that if wages were paid on some other day, the amount of drunkenness would be considerably lessened."

The author seems to have had a special aversion to Scots and Unitarians whom he condemns as having lost their souls for gold. The veneration paid to wealth in this town is absolutely astonishing. A cotton lord is one who will not on any account allow his grandfather to be the subject of discussion. Greenheys he describes as little Germany.

The town itself he describes as a mass of dirt and confusion and he has a special condemnation of the shopkeepers, who are "obliging and civil to each paying customer; to the rich all smirks and smiles; to the poor all gloom and frowns. The worst of this class is the impertinence, rudeness, and coarseness they universally display when they conceive they have a customer who cannot conveniently pay their account at the moment of demand." Second and third class travel on the railway seems to deserve his severe criticism.

To these strictures it is replied: The enormous increase in our own population is chiefly owing to the influx of strangers, who naturally prefer that place where their exertions will be best rewarded. Manchester has attracted to it abundance of foreigners from every part of Europe, and their residing in this town is a powerful though unsigned testimony, in its favour.

. . . "By means of numerous lyceums, information of a high and varied character is conveyed at a cheap rate to the poorer classes who could not afford to join the above named institutions. If Manchester cannot produce as many very learned men as the metropolis of this, or the sister county, neither has it so many of the very ignorant of sound practical knowledge here, than in any other town in the empire. . . . In reference to the senseless tirade against the local press it is sufficient to remark that for accuracy of statement, copiousness of intelligence and extent of circulation, the Manchester papers are next to the metropolis."

The ladies of Manchester receive commiseration. "The lady cottonocracy of course, more refined than their lordly governors. I mean of course the youngsters, not the old roots. . . . The ladies seldom visit the town except on business of some description or other so that in the suburbs alone they are to be found. Certainly there is no attraction for them in the town, unless they are fond of being made shuttlecocks of, and pushed from side to side. . . . On the whole they must lead a very dull and tame life, the male portion of the family in the town all day, returning fatigued and still dreaming of bargains made or anticipated."

Only the numerous class of clerks and warehousemen, receive commendation: men who, for general industry and diligence are unrivalled, while a zealous disposition to improve themselves by whatever may be in their power, makes them a very respectable body.

Both the Manchester and Leeds and the Manchester and Liverpool Railways were extended to Hunts Bank and the first Victoria station, consisting of only one platform, was opened on January 1, 1844.

Two foreigners visited the town in 1844. The King of Saxony had in his suite Dr. Carus, his physician, who left his impression of the town. He describes a visit to Sharp Roberts and Company where they met a German foreman named Beyer, later the founder of Beyer Peacock and Company. He was amazed to see cold iron cut and bored like paper. During a visit to Birley's cotton mill he observed the manufacture of "a waterproof stuff called mackintosh". for which enormous quantities of india rubber were used. Hoyle's calico printing works proved equally surprising. He adds:



Manchester is certainly a strange place. Nothing is to be seen but houses blackened by smoke and in the external parts of the towns half empty dirty ditches between smoking factories of different kinds, all built with regard to practical utility and without any respect at all for external beauty. In the midst of all this, a pallid population consisting entirely of men who work for daily wages or of men who pay the wages of daily labour. Everyone of any property has a country house at some distance from the town and only enters its atmosphere of smoke when his presence there is absolutely necessary. At the same time feeling for science and art is not entirely wanting. . . . I could not help being forcibly struck by the peculiar dense atmosphere which hangs over these towns in which hundreds of chimneys are continually vomiting forth clouds of smoke. The light even is quite different from what it is elsewhere. What a curious red colour was presented by the evening light this evening. It is not like a mist nor like dust nor like smoke but is a sort of mixture of these three ingredients, condensed moreover by the particular chemical exhalations of such towns.

The other visitor was Leon Faucher, a Frenchman, whose impressions were published under the title "Manchester in 1844". Like Engels, he quoted from the reports made to the Board of Health in 1832 and asserted that conditions were just as bad in 1844, but, as Redford says, "the assertions may have been justified; but the method naturally arouses a suspicion that the observations of contemporary conditions was often done at second hand."

Or as Charles Knight says: "His inferences and assertions, as frequently happens when foreigners judge the English after a hasty visit, are too sweeping and require to be received with caution." But Faucher does permit himself one eulogy:

Certainly if there is one nation more than another fitted for labour, that nation is the English; and especially the Lancastrians. Nature has liberally endowed them with an indomitable energy and with nerves of steel. The Lancashire operative is, indisputably the best workman on the face of the earth, the best spinner, and the best mechanic. It is he who brings into the field of industry that ingenuity which economises labour, and that active energy which is not surpassed if indeed equalled, by any other race. But this untiring, this excessive and unceasing energy, carried beyond certain limits, tends to enervate and undermine his frame. Over-working is a malady which Lancashire has inflicted upon England, and which England in its turn has inflicted upon Europe. Manchester is the seat, the concentrated focus, of this malady.

Faucher also makes an interesting forecast of the benefits of profit-sharing: "I am firmly convinced that the first manufacturer who shall have the courage to invite his work people to an interest in the profits of the establishment, will be no sufferer by the experiment. Such a concession would attract to him the very best class of operatives; the labour would be accomplished with more care and zeal and the produce would increase in quantity and improve in quality. He would establish between himself and his workmen an intimate and permanent union which would be proof against time and circumstances."

The translator, in his notes, corrects some of the gravest errors in the book and in some places the notes are more valuable than the text. What the critics seem to overlook is that rapid movement of population was unprecedented and that the infant Borough Council was without powers to deal with the situation. That it was alive to the problem is shown by the three Acts of Parliament obtained in the same year.

The first local Act secured by the Town Council, the Borough Police Act, gave it power to compel owners of existing as well as all new houses, warehouses, manufactures and workshops, to provide sanitary conveniences satisfactory to the council. It also restricted the hours of opening of public houses and forbade the sale of spirits to children under eighteen. The rapid expansion of the town is shown by the powers taken to license and control hackney carriages. Its many other clauses must be studied to realize the comprehensive nature of its provisions for dealing with existing evils. But the most important provision of the Act was that for the purchase of the manorial rights and the extinction of the Court Leet. It was agreed to pay £200,000 in instalments to Sir Oswald Mosley. £5,000 was paid down and the rest was to be made in annual instalments of £4,000. Not until 1894 did the Corporation become the absolute lords of the manor.

The Improvement Act provided for the construction of Corporation Street, from Market Street to Hyde's Cross (Withy Grove), John Dalton Street and the approach to London Road station besides improvements in several other streets. City Road, Hulme was laid out partly from the gas profits of that township and partly by a loan from the Borough Council. Albert Bridge, connecting Bridge Street with Salford, was built to replace the former New Bailey Bridge.

The Bonding Act allowed produce to be imported from any part of the world, direct to Manchester, without the annoyance of its detention at the ports until it was sold. "The passage of these bills forms a new era in the history of Manchester, and for them we are largely indebted to a Corporation based upon popular principles and representing the real wants of the inhabitants." (Culverwell).

Francis Trench, arrived here on July 26, 1845, during the evening, and gives the following lively picture of Deansgate:

The hotel at which we stopped was near Deansgate, a long street and thoroughfare which especially on Saturday night, as the great marketing occasion for the labouring population of the township, is thronged from end to end with such a vast crowd that all have to dodge about and push their way to make any advance. . . . The whole street was brilliantly lit, with gas from the shops and adjoining streets, where a large meat market was thronged with purchasers, though it was near midnight. There is something very strange and solemn in witnessing for the first time such a multitude of souls thus gathered thickly together. I am glad to say I heard little or no profane language while I saw little drunkenness and no violence during an hour or more in which I was close observer to the scene around me.

Charles Greville, Clerk to the Council, visited his brother-in-law, Lord Ellesmere, at Worsley in November, 1845 and made several local surveys. He inspected the then marvellous Bridgewater Canal and the yard, which was a sort of dockyard and manufactory, for the canal's requirements. In Manchester he visited one of the great cotton mills; a silk manufactory; and a calico-printing works. In Birley's cotton factory 1,200 were employed, the majority being girls earning 10s. to 15s. a week. They usually worked eleven hours a day and looked wan and very tired in the hot rooms. Yet they preferred this to domestic service, as they liked the independence and the hours of freedom every evening and at the week-ends. Greville was amazed at the intricate machinery in the silk mill. Hoyle's calico-printing works, where the highest wages were two guineas a week, employed 800 men. Copper cylinders used in this process represented a capital value of £100,000.

Manchester was still without public parks. Mark Phillips, one of the M.P.s for the Borough, had suggested in the previous year that the Council should apply for part of the grant for open spaces offered by the government five years earlier.



When £3,000 was granted public subscriptions raised ten times that amount. Lark Hill Estate, (Peel Park) was purchased for Salford. Hendham Hall Estate, Harpurhey (Queen's Park); and Bradford Estate (Phillips Park) were bought for Manchester. By the end of the year, these properties were conveyed by deed to the Corporation, to be kept open, without any charge on all days of the week, and they became available to the public on August 26, 1846.

Hugh Miller, a Scot who first visited the town in 1845, has recorded this impression :

Manchester I found a true representative of the great manufacturing towns of modern England. One receives one's first intimation of its existence from the lurid gloom of the atmosphere that hangs over it. There is a murky blot in one section of the sky, however clear the weather, which broadens and heightens as we approach until at length it seems spread over half the firmament, and now the innumerable chimneys come in view tall and dim in the dun haze, each bearing atop its own troubled pennon of darkness. And now we enter the suburbs, and pass through mediocre streets of brick that seem as if they had been built wholesale by contract within the last half dozen years.

These humble houses are the houses of operative manufacturers. Manchester has been doubling in population every half-century for the last 150 years. As we advance, the town presents a new feature. We see whole streets of warehouses, dead, dingy, gigantic buildings, barred out from the light; and save where here and there a huge wagon stands lading or unlading under the mid-air crane, the thoroughfares and specially the numerous cul-de-sacs, have a solitary, half-deserted air. But the city clocks have just struck one, the dinner hour of the labouring English, and in one brief minute, two thirds of the population of the place have turned out into the street. The rush of the human tide is tremendous, head long and arrowy as that of a Highland river in flood, or as that of a water spout just broken amid the hills, and at once hurrying adown a hundred different ravines. But the outburst is as short as fierce. We have stepped aside into some doorway, or out towards the centre of some public square to be beyond the wind of such commotion and in a few minutes all is over, and the streets even more quiet and solitary than before. There is an air of much magnificence about the public buildings devoted to trade, and the larger shops wear the solid aspect of long established, well-founded business. But nothing seems more characteristic of the great manufacturing city though disagreeably so, than the river Irwell, the hapless river,—a pretty enough stream a few miles higher up, with trees over hanging its banks and fringes of green sedge set thick along its edges—loses caste



as it gets among the mills and the printworks. There the myriads of dirty things given it to wash, and whole waggons loads of poisons from dye houses and bleach yards thrown in to carry away, steam boilers discharge into it their seething contents and drains and sewers their fetid impurities till at length it rolls on, here between tall dingy walls, there under precipices of red sand stone,—considerably less a river than a flood of liquid manure in which all life dies, whether animal or vegetable, and which resembles nothing in nature except perhaps the stream thrown out in eruption of some mud volcano.

It was no easy matter to get about the streets in the old days, for they were both dark and dingy, and very little light came from the houses when night came, as the closed wooden shutters, inside and out gave no help in this way to the passers by. The lamps were few and far between in the streets and the light from them anything but brilliant. . . . It was only very gradually that the use of gas in dwellings became general, so at night "Ring for the candles" was quite a household word, and then would appear two long candles in silver sticks, with tray and snuffers, when those who wished to make use of the lights gathered in cosily round the table. . . . At bedtime a candle was left with children just sufficiently long for them to get to bed by. (Hayes).

Until 1845 the Borough Council was without powers to compel the removal of night soil and domestic rubbish from private property. Removal was contracted for by the householder or the landlord at 3s. a load of two tons, with the result that it often accumulated for long periods. By the Act for promoting the Health of the Inhabitants the Corporation was now empowered to undertake this duty as Municipal service and the cleaning up of the Borough became possible. The Act of 1845 extended the powers of the Council over the whole Borough of Manchester and also empowered it to purchase property in any way necessary to effect sanitary improvements. In July 1846 the first municipal cleansing department employed six nightmen, with two horses and carts.

## 35. *The Municipal Borough II*

1846-1852

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TWO problems that had grown beyond the powers of the Police Commissioners were inherited by the Borough Council. The first was the disposal of night soil and household rubbish, the second the supply of sufficient water. When every dwelling had a large garden each had a manure heap, about which the Court Leet continually received complaints. By 1846 the gardens were largely built over and the increasing use of coal added a new difficulty: the disposal of the ashes. As has been stated previously, the removal of refuse had not been the responsibility of the town authorities, with the result that there were accumulations in courts, streets, and even in cellars, with the consequent breeding of disease.

The hungry forties might equally well have been called the dirty forties. All the large towns were unhealthy and lacking in sanitary conveniences but Manchester came in for an undue share of publicity. The Irk, Irwell and Medlock, which, in earlier times had carried away much extraneous matter, were now sluggish streams owing to obstruction by weirs and the diversion of water for canals. At the same time, these streams were polluted by sewers and waste products from factories and workshops, so that they ceased to be sources of water supply, even for cleaning purposes.

On May 5, 1847, the Council voted £3,000 to clean up the town and 112 men with 50 horses, carts and drivers were engaged. Each week they cleaned about 1,000 privies and ash-pits, removing more than 2,000 cartloads of refuse. By the end of the operation, the cost had risen to £8,000 of which less than £2,500 had been recovered by the sale of manure. The Borough was now declared to be in a better state from a sanitary point of view than at any former period.

All the larger towns were suffering from an inadequate sup-

ply of water and Manchester was no exception. The Borough Council took up the problem at the end of 1846 and, after a protracted enquiry, the Royal Assent to the Manchester Corporation Act was received on June 30, 1847. This provided for: (a) the construction of reservoirs in the Longdendale Valley, on the bed of the river Etherow; (b) auxiliary works for bringing water to Manchester; (c) the purchase of the existing Manchester and Salford Waterworks Company, (d) the levying of a water rate to cover the cost. Up to this time there had been no general legislation respecting water. Parliament had never concerned itself with the matter beyond dealing with Private Bills as and when they were promoted.

During the actual construction, the Council had to face the special hazards encountered by all pioneers and great credit is due to J. F. Bateman, the superintendent engineer. But in spite of setbacks: wet weather at one season, drought at another and the breaking of a dam owing to heavy floods, the new water supply came into use on January 1, 1851 and the first public and domestic water rates at 3*d.* and 6*d.* in the £ respectively were levied.

The area supplied was about 85 square miles, extending 11 miles west and 8 miles east from the Town Hall. Water supplied in bulk to Salford and other local authorities as well as to public companies, increased the number dependent on Manchester water to almost a million persons.

During the course of these undertakings, progress in other directions had continued. The Markets Act of 1846 allowed butchers and fishmongers to open shops instead of selling in open markets.

In 1847 Dr. Prince Lee was appointed as first bishop of Manchester. He took up his residence at the improperly called Mauldeth Hall, though the estate had no manorial privileges to justify the designation. It had been built eight years previously by Mr. Dyer and there is an interesting account of the construction of this house, and the attempt to make it fireproof, in Smith's *Century of Science*. John Holden, a Manchester architect, gave a lecture based on a plan in 1874 to a conference of the Surveyors' Institution but it contains little new information except comparison of land values at various dates.

The first telegraphic newspaper report appeared in the *Manchester Times* at 2 p.m. on the same day that Richard Cobden

was elected M.P. for the West Riding in 1847. Geo. Wilson, who was a director of the Electric Telegraph Company, had several miles of wire installed temporarily to Wakefield and the news was telegraphed direct to Manchester.

The second and greater railway boom of 1844-46 ended in the financial crisis of 1847 and a deputation of unemployed met the Mayor and magistrates on April 1.

A great Chartist meeting, said to number 100,000, met at Smithfield. For fear of insurrection, 12,000 special constables were sworn in, cannon were mounted in the streets, whilst soldiers patrolled the chief thoroughfares. Gas profits continued to be used for street improvements and £19,000 were allocated in 1848. Owing to dissatisfaction with "Whitworth's Road Sweeping Company" the Council undertook direct scavenging of the streets.

From this year onwards, industrial development quickened its pace amazingly owing to the growth of steam transport, especially by sea, which opened ever widening markets for manufactures. As a result workers enjoyed the double advantages of fuller employment and higher real wages.

In March 1850 the Borough prison in Hyde Road was officially opened to receive prisoners, while in the same year Manchester became a separate Poor Law unit, with its own Board of Guardians. When the Mayor launched a scheme for a Free Library in the autumn, £6,319 was quickly subscribed. From this fund the Committee bought the Owenite Hall of Science in Campfield.

Gas profits continued to increase and the amount allocated to street improvements rose to £27,000. Some indication of the increase of overseas business is shown by the fact that 123 firms were now engaged in the shipping trade. In this year an Act of Parliament authorised the division of the unwieldy parish of Manchester.

Samuel Sidney in his *Rides on Railways* says:

Manchester is the greatest manufactory in the world. The cradle and metropolis of a trade which employs a million and a half souls besides the sailors, the merchants and planters and the slaves, who grow or carry or buy the raw material. . . . Blot out the capital, the credit, the living enterprise, the manufacturing power of Manchester and we have lost a century of commercial progress.



Manchester is essentially a place of work and action, carried on by men recruited from every district where a mental grenadier of the Manchester standard is to be found. . . . The Americans are rather constant visitors than permanent residents, but the Germans are sufficiently numerous to be able to form a society of their own, the most agreeable in Manchester. . . . The ceaseless enterprise and enormous powers of manufacture are supported by a constantly improving mechanical ingenuity which seems to those unaccustomed to such works nothing less than miraculous as for instance some of the inventions of Mr. Whitworth and Mr. Roberts. . . . Dr. Dalton the celebrated natural philosopher for many years a resident in Manchester, has proved that Manchester is not so damp and rainy a place as is generally imagined, that the annual fall of rain is less than that of Lancaster, Kendal, and Dumfries.

He also states that scavengers were formerly paid to take away old rags but that now they were being sold for making into paper.

Development of the Free Library was advocated at a public meeting in January 1851 and an appeal for subscriptions was issued. By the end of the year almost £10,000 had been subscribed, over 3,000 volumes had been presented and about 18,000 bought. The books were formed into two collections, those on the upper floor being for reference whilst the ground floor housed the free lending library. The census of 1851 gave a total population of 303,382 with 53,697 houses.

Manchester anticipated national policy in its General Improvements Act, which transferred the management of the Highways to the Borough Council and thus another independent rate levying body came to an end.

On March 12, 1851, the first Owens' College was opened at 21, Quay Street, the first Principal being Professor A. J. Scott. This was in accordance with the will of the late John Owens who left £100,000 for that purpose. The house, which was next door to that of the Byrom's was at one time tenanted by Richard Cobden and later by George Falkner. He let the house to the College Trustees for £200 a year and, soon afterwards presented it to them. Until the erection of new buildings in Oxford Road in 1873, the work of the College continued in Quay Street. The building is now used as the County Court.

Adshead's map of the Township of Manchester shows the municipal wards. It is on a scale of 80 ins. to 1 mile and consists of 24 folded sheets of which the last is an outline and



\* FIRST OWEN'S COLLEGE

index map to the preceding ones. The sheets composing the map if put together would form a colossal map, having a superficial area of some 400 square feet, made clear by distinctive colours: blue for rivers and canals, buff for mills and works, pink for hotels, taverns, inns and public houses. It also indicates the only considerable unbuilt portion of the township, i.e. the N.E. extremity of Collyhurst and Harpurhey, and has an alphabetical list of several hundred streets,

It placed Manchester in a better position as to a map of its local topography, than any other large town in the kingdom, not excepting the metropolis itself. . . . Upon any of the maps, the eye can discern at a glance what waterways, (river or canal), pass through it; what public buildings it contains, can readily ascertain the number of licensed public houses within its bounds; see where the trade works as cotton mills; print, dye and bleach-works, machine works, foundries etc., are situated and to what firms they belong; and can even count every cottage dwelling and measure every piece of waste land, and see where a plot suitable for individual purposes can be found with water or other frontage. In short the value of these maps to the surveyor, the architect, the land and house agent, the paving board, the local board of health or the sanitary committee etc. can scarcely at once be sufficiently appreciated. (*Manchester Guardian*).



MANCHESTER in 1851



Judging by this contemporary etching of George Cruickshank, Manchester took a great interest in the Crystal Palace Exhibition, which opened in Hyde Park on May 1, 1851. The sketch is valuable because it shows clearly the buildings at the top of Market Street at this time. There is an earlier view, 1830, showing the London coach emerging from the archway of the Royal Hotel, but the Angel is obscured by a carrier's cart. The first street on the right is Tib Street; the one lower down is High Street. On the left, the first street is Meal Street (now Lewis's Arcade) and Fountain Street is round the bend, opposite the last lamp.

Cheap trips to the Exhibition cost 14s. 2d. return. While in London, visitors could stay in a mansion, next to Chelsea Hospital, for 2s. 6d. a night; with breakfast or tea, 6d. to 1s. Bed with a breakfast of tea or coffee; roast or boiled beef; ham and eggs; was 5s. elsewhere.

But the highlight of the year was the visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, on October 10, 1851. Her Majesty never witnessed so vast an assemblage as the one bent on giving her



OLD INFIRMARY



a loyal and enthusiastic welcome. The Royal procession passed along Piccadilly and, with the object of improving the appearance of that thoroughfare, the city fathers had three fountains erected in connection with the pond. The jets threw columns of water to a height of thirty feet, and when in operation the fountains must have produced a pleasing effect. These were removed at a later period, and the esplanade, commenced in 1853, was then completed. In the evening the whole town was illuminated on a scale rivalling the most effective metropolitan displays, and so admirable and efficient were the arrangements for the freedom of the royal progress, that nothing occurred to mar the enjoyment of the Queen and her loyal people. But above all the preparations, and all that Her Majesty saw, nothing rebounded so much to the honour of Manchester, and of the people themselves, as the magnificent spectacle of the 86,000 Sunday school children on two immense platforms erected for the purpose in Peel Park. The Royal cortège passed between them, and they greeted Her Majesty with the National Anthem, 86,000 voices giving welcome to their beloved Sovereign.

Knight in his volume, *The Land we live in*, anticipates the growing importance of science and invention in the development of industry.

As the factory system is the pervading principle of Manchester, so must the tone of society be dependent on it in a greater or less degree, but manufacturing operations, as contradistinguished from commercial enterprise, necessarily call for the exercise of different powers of mind, and hence the difference that are observable in the leading men of Liverpool and of Manchester. Those who have the best means of judging, say (and the remark bears with it internal evidence of probability), that literature and art are better understood at Liverpool than at Manchester, but that science is better understood at Manchester than at Liverpool. It is certain that the cotton spinner and the calico printer have constant demand made on their ingenuity—the one to develop mechanical applications and the other both chemical and mechanical applications of the principles furnished by science while the Liverpool merchant has more need to study his fellow man than the attributes and qualities of matter.

The increasing size of the town is shown by the introduction of three-horse double-decked omnibuses for seventeen passengers inside and twenty-five outside. "In 1852, a man by

the name of Mac Ewen took Manchester suddenly by storm, when he introduced his new omnibus with a neat iron ladder to the outside seats. These were raised and, consequently the feet had not to dangle over the side as they had done in the old knifeboard arrangement. When they first commenced running from Sherbourne Street in Strangeways, just the town side of the toll bar, the fare to All Saints was 3*d*. The new omnibuses were well built and finished off and, by their spick and span appearance, soon won their way into popular favour." (Hayes.)

The first appropriation of gas profits in aid of the waterworks was made in 1852. On September 2 of this year the Library was formally opened and handed over to the Corporation for maintenance as a public institution. Edward Edwards was appointed first Librarian and great interest was aroused in the free library lectures he commenced.

During the early 1850's the most debated topic was public health. Edwin Chadwick's "Report on the Sanitary conditions of the labouring population of Great Britain" had led to the Public Health Act and the creation of a central Board of Health, but the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association was not formed until 1852.

"Perhaps no part of England not even excepting London, presents such remarkable and attractive features either to visitors or residents, as Manchester and its many manufacturing districts; its vast population—its commercial grandeur and magnificence—its boundless resources—its scenes of untiring bustle and energy as the work shop of the World, altogether presents a picture to the mind of the intelligent observer to which neither this nor any other country can yield a parallel. . . . It is to the energetic exertions and enterprising spirit of its population that Manchester is mainly indebted to its elevation to that proud pre-eminence which as a seat of commerce and manufacture, it has of comparatively late years attained and for which it is distinguished beyond any other town in the British Dominions or indeed in the world, for there is scarcely a country on the face of the habitable globe into which the fruits of its industry have not penetrated." With this eulogy from Whellan's *Directory* for 1852, we may leave the Borough to face an expanding future as the newly created "City of Manchester," on March 29, 1852.

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1760 to 1774

1760

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1775 to 1782

1775

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1783 to 1791

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1792 to 1799

1792

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1800 to 1805

1800

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1805

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1806 to 1809

1806

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1809

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1810 to 1815

1810

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1811

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PIGOT, J. *Manchester and Salford Directory*.

1812

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An Act for enlarging the powers of an Act of His Majesty for supplying with water the towns of Manchester and Salford.

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1814

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JORDON, F. W. *Life of Joseph Jordan*.

1815

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## 29. Peace without Plenty.

1816 to 1819

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